

# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis ..... The Easter Texts of the New Testament: Their Tradition, Redaction and  
Theology - With Particular Reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15 .....

The purpose of this study is to investigate the Easter Texts of the New Testament: their tradition, redaction and theology - with particular reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15.

In Section I: The Easter Texts and Historical Criticism, we discuss the methodological question of the place of historical criticism for our investigation. Clarifying the positive and negative relationship of historical criticism to theological understanding, we assume that historical criticism is to be used both to trace and observe the process of the traditions which precede the texts, and to investigate the texts themselves in order to understand the evangelists' intentions, rather than to make the abortive attempt simply to harmonize chronologically the accounts of the Easter texts which contradict one another on major points, e.g. the locality of the appearances. The question of the relation of historical criticism to theological understanding is resumed in the concluding chapter where we attempt again to explicate the problem more extensively in view of the logical structure of understanding.

Section II: A Study of Pauline Easter Texts, consists of two chapters. Here, we attempt first to obtain a clue to solving the question how the unusual experience which was vouchsafed to Paul, whose Sitz im Leben was different in many ways from those of the first disciples, could lead to the certainty that Jesus had been raised, and then secondly we examine the text of 1 Cor 15.3ff., using the methods of form-criticism and tradition history. Problems of the difference between the christology of Paul and of the Corinthians are also dealt with and an attempt is made to explicate that, so far as 1 Cor 15.3ff. is concerned, for Paul the Easter event meant an eschatological expectation, which, though it had already been fulfilled in Jesus' case, yet for the believer remains an expectation, in which one can participate by hope alone. At the end of this section, we also, to a limited extent, try to view Paul's contribution to the theology of resurrection, which in his epistles follows two lines, viz. the dogmatic and the empirical.

In Section III, we turn our attention to the Easter texts in the synoptic gospels, and this section consists of three chapters:

In chapter 4, on the Markan texts, our main concern focusses on two points, that is, the empty tomb tradition and the significance of the Easter texts especially in view of redaction history. We attempt to show the apologetic and the theological interests in the empty tomb stories in the synoptic gospels and also attempt to examine Mark's interpretation of the Easter tradition which is orientated towards and conditioned by the redactor's own theological assertion, viz. "the miraculous being of Jesus".

Chapter 5 deals with the Matthean Easter texts. In this chapter, we try to examine the appearance story, especially in regard to the discrepancy between the appearance stories in 1 Corinthians and in the gospel narratives. Then, we investigate the texts, their tradition and redaction history and thereby we come to the understanding of how emphatically the mission motif is accentuated in the Matthean texts.

Finally, the Lukan Easter texts are dealt with in chapter 6. Together with form critical study, and adopting the same methodology as we used in the preceding chapters, viz. tradition and redaction history, we again attempt to clarify how the redactor's theological positions and ideas, e.g. the sacred history, are evidently effective in the evangelist's interpretation of the tradition. Our concern in this chapter is also directed towards the

two ascension accounts, viz. Lk 24.50-53 and Acts 1.9-11. In this connection, although this study is limited to the investigation of the Easter texts of the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15, we attempt to clarify the distinctive contribution of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition.

We conclude our study of the Easter texts of the New Testament by the attempt to restate the main thread of our theme, summarising and analysing the results of our investigation and examining them from the hermeneutical point of view. Some suggestions for the task of translation of the Easter texts into contemporary idioms bring the thesis to a conclusion.



THE EASTER TEXTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:

THEIR TRADITION, REDACTION AND THEOLOGY

- WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SYNOPTIC

GOSPELS AND 1 CORINTHIANS 15

by

MAKOTO YAMAUCHI



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The purpose of this study is to investigate the Easter Texts of the New Testament: their tradition, redaction and theology - with particular reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15.

In Section I: The Easter Texts and Historical Criticism, we discuss the methodological question of the place of historical criticism for our investigation. Clarifying the positive and negative relationship of historical criticism to theological understanding, we assume that historical criticism is to be used both to trace and observe the process of the traditions which precede the texts, and to investigate the texts themselves in order to understand the evangelists' intentions, rather than to make the abortive attempt simply to harmonize chronologically the accounts of the Easter texts which contradict one another on major points, e.g. the locality of the appearances. The question of the relation of historical criticism to theological understanding is resumed in the concluding chapter where we attempt again to explicate the problem more extensively in view of the logical structure of understanding.

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had already been fulfilled in Jesus' case, yet for the believer remains an expectation, in which one can participate by hope alone. At the end of this section, we also, to a limited extent, try to view Paul's contribution to the theology of resurrection, which in his epistles follows two lines, viz. the dogmatic and the empirical.

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are evidently effective in the evangelist's interpretation of the tradition. Our concern in this chapter is also directed towards the two ascension accounts, viz. Lk 24.50-53 and Acts 1.9-11. In this connection, although this study is limited to the investigation of the Easter texts of the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15, we attempt to clarify the distinctive contribution of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition.

We conclude our study of the Easter texts of the New Testament by the attempt to restate the main thread of our theme, summarising and analysing the results of our investigation and examining them from the hermeneutical point of view. Some suggestions for the task of translation of the Easter texts into contemporary idioms bring the thesis to a conclusion.



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I wish to extend to all my gratitude.

Easter Morning, 1972.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

BibKirch	Bibel und Kirche (Stuttgart)
BiblSac	Bibliotheca Sacra (Dallas, Texas)
BibRes	Biblical Research (Chicago)
BibTheol	Biblical Theology (Belfast)
CanJournTheol	Canadian Journal of Theology (Toronto)
CommViat	Communio Viatorum (Prague)
ConcTheolMon	Concordia Theological Monthly (St. Louis)
Dialog	Dialog (Minneapolis, Minn.)
ET	English Translation
EtudThéolRel	Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses (Montpellier)
EvangQuart	Evangelical Quarterly (London)
EvangTheol	Evangelische Theologie (Munich)
ExpTimes	Expository Times (Edinburgh)
HarvTheolRev	Harvard Theological Review (Cambridge, Mass.)
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen)
HeythJourn	Heythrop Journal (Oxford)
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York)
Interpretation	Interpretation (Richmond)
JournBibLit	Journal of Biblical Literature (Philadelphia)
JournTheolStud	Journal of Theological Studies (Oxford)
KerDog	Kerygma und Dogma (Göttingen)
LumVie	Lumière et Vie (Lyons)
LXX	Septuaginta
MeyerK	Meyers Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Göttingen)
NedTheolTijd	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift (Wageningen, Holland)



NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Göttingen)
NouvRevThéol	Nouvelle Revue Théologique (Louvain)
NovTest	Novum Testamentum (Leiden)
NTStud	New Testament Studies (Cambridge)
OrLitZeit	Orientalische Literaturzeitung (Berlin)
RefTheolRev	Reformed Theological Review (Hawthorn, Victoria)
RelLife	Religion in Life (Nashville)
RevHisPhiRel	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses (Strasbourg)
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3 edn., (Tübingen)
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
ScotJournTheol	Scottish Journal of Theology (Edinburgh)
SNT	Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt, (Göttingen)
STB	Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (München)
StuEvang	Studia Evangelica, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur 73, 1959 (Leipzig)
StudTheol	Studia Theologica (Lund)
TheolBl	Theologische Blätter (Leipzig)
TheolExist	Theologische Existenz Heute (München)
TheolLitZeit	Theologische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig)
Theology	Theology (London)
TheolQuart	Theologische Quartalschrift (Tübingen)
TheolRund	Theologische Rundschau (Tübingen)
TheolToday	Theology Today (Princeton)
TheolZeit	Theologische Zeitschrift (Basel)

THNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament (Leipzig-Berlin)
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken (Hamburg)
ThW	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart) ET: A Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, vol.1-vol.6 (Grand Rapids)
VuF	Verkündigung und Forschung (München)
VetTest	Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
ZeitKathTheol	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck)
ZeitAltWiss	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin)
ZeitNTWiss	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin)
ZeitTheolKirch	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche (Tübingen)
ZeitSysTheol	Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie (Berlin)

Regarding quotations from Biblical and non-Biblical books, the following abbreviations are used:

Gn	Genesis	Mt	Matthew
Ex	Exodus	Mk	Mark
Lv	Leviticus	Lk	Luke
Nu	Numbers	Jn	John
Dt	Deuteronomy	Ac	Acts
Jos	Joshua	Ro	Romans
Jdg	Judges	1,2 Cor	1,2 Corinthians
Ru	Ruth	Ga	Galatians
1,2 Sm	1,2 Samuel	Eph	Ephesians
1,2 Kgs	1,2 Kings	Php	Philippians
1,2 Chr	1,2 Chronicles	Col	Colossians
Ezr	Ezra	1,2 Th	1,2 Thessalonians



Ne	Nehemiah	1,2 Tm	1,2 Timothy
Est	Esther	Tt	Titus
Job	Job	Phm	Philemon
Ps	Psalms	He	Hebrews
Pr	Proverbs	Jas	James
Ec	Ecclesiastes	1,2 Pe	1,2 Peter
Sol	Song of Solomon	1,2,3 Jn	1,2,3 John
Is	Isaiah	Jd	Jude
Jr	Jeremiah	Re	Revelation
Lm	Lamentation		
Eze	Ezekiel		
Dn	Daniel	Bar	Baruch
Ho	Hosea	En	Enoch
Jl	Joel	1,2 Esd	1,2 Esdras
Am	Amos	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Ob	Obadiah	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Jon	Jonah	3 Macc	3 Maccabees
Mic	Micah	4 Macc	4 Maccabees
Na	Nahum	Ps Sol	Psalms of Solomon
Hab	Habakkuk	Sir	Sirach
Zph	Zephaniah	Targ	Targum
Hg	Haggai		
Zch	Zechariah		
Mal	Malachi		

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION .....	1
SECTION I <u>THE EASTER TEXTS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM</u> .....	5
Chapter 1 Methodological problems .....	5
1.1 A critical survey of the studies on the resurrection .....	5
1.2 Text and interpretation .....	19
1.3 The untenability of the question of the historicity of the resurrection .....	23
1.4 Function and range of historical criticism .....	30
1.5 Theological interpretation and historical critical study .....	39
SECTION II <u>A STUDY OF PAULINE EASTER TEXTS</u> .....	45
Chapter 2 The Vision of Paul .....	45
2.1 Materials .....	46
2.2 <u>ᾠφθη</u> .....	49
2.3 Galatians 1.11ff. ....	54
2.4 Philippians 3.4ff. ....	59
2.5 Summary .....	61
Chapter 3 1 Corinthians 15.3ff. ....	63
3.1 Textual problems .....	63
3.2 <u>Sitz im Leben</u> of the formula in 1 Corinthians 15.3ff. ....	68
3.3 Tradition-history .....	82



	<u>Page</u>
3.4 Problems of the christological doctrine in the Corinthian Church .....	96
A. A brief critical survey of the recent studies on gnosticism in the Pauline congregations .....	96
B. Some important problems and their presuppositions in 1 Corinthians 15.1ff. ....	101
C. Difference between the christology of Paul and the Corinthians .....	106
D. Summary: Significance of the Easter tradition in the context of 1 Corinthians .....	114
3.5 Paul's contribution to the theology of resurrection .....	121
3.6 Summary .....	137
SECTION III <u>A STUDY OF THE EASTER NARRATIVES IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS</u> .....	139
Chapter 4 Mark 16.1-8 .....	139
4.1 Textual criticism .....	139
4.2 Empty tomb story .....	140
A. Materials .....	140
B. Tradition-history and the significance of the empty tomb stories in the Gospels .....	142
4.3 Ending of the Marcan text .....	152
A. Unity of the text .....	152
B. U. Marxsen's interpretation .....	154
4.4 The motif of fear and amazement in Mark and the significance of the Easter narrative in Mark .....	160
A. Form-critical study of the motif of fear and amazement .....	160
B. Particular usage of the motif of amazement and fear in Mark .....	167
C. Significance of the Easter text in Mark .....	174
4.5 Summary .....	179

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 5 Matthew 28.1-20 .....	182
5.1 Form-critical study .....	182
A. Empty tomb story .....	182
B. Appearance stories .....	183
1) Matthew 28.9f., 16-20 .....	183
2) Discrepancy between the appearance stories in 1 Corinthians 15 and in the Gospel narratives .....	186
5.2 Tradition and redaction history and the significance of the Easter narratives in Matthew .....	193
A. Context (Mt 27.56ff.) .....	193
B. Account of the empty tomb (Mt 28.1-15) .....	194
C. The commissioning of the disciples (Mt 28.16-20) .....	197
1) vv.16-17 .....	199
2) vv.18-20 .....	201
5.3 Summary .....	218
Chapter 6 Luke 24.1-50 .....	222
6.1 Form-critical study .....	222
A. Emmaus story (Lk 24.13-35) .....	222
B. The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49) .....	225
6.2 Tradition and redaction history and the significance of the Easter narratives in Luke .....	227
A. Context (Lk 23.49-56) .....	227
B. The resurrection of Jesus (Lk 24.1-11) .....	228
1) The order of events .....	229
2) The accounts of locality .....	229
3) The motif of the proof from prophecy .....	230
C. Luke 24.12 .....	231



	<u>Page</u>
D. The walk to Emmaus (Lk 24.13-35) .....	232
1) The intention of the tradition .....	233
2) Luke's editorial work .....	233
3) The appearance to Peter (v.34) .....	236
4) The motif of the proof from prophecy (vv.17-27, v.32, v.35a) .....	238
5) Legend of the meal at Emmaus .....	240
6) The mediator of the meaning of the scripture (vv.25-27, v.32, vv.44-48) .....	242
7) "Those who were with" (v.33) .....	243
E. The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49) .....	244
1) The third appearance (vv.36-43) .....	245
2) Missionary charge .....	247
F. The ascension of the risen Jesus .....	249
1) Luke 24.50-53 .....	250
2) Acts 1.9-11 .....	253
6.3 Summary .....	256
A brief look at the fourth Gospel .....	260
Chapter 7 Conclusion .....	266
7.1 Summary .....	266
7.2 Observation .....	281
Bibliography .....	306

## INTRODUCTION

Archbishop Ramsey once said that "the resurrection is a true starting place for the study of the making and the meaning of the New Testament".<sup>1</sup> It is one view that the event on Easter Day is the climax of the Gospel. But another view is possible, namely that the gospel could stand without this climax. The primitive church, however, did not find it so. For the disciples the Gospel without the Easter event was not merely a gospel without its final movement, it was not "a" gospel at all. One learns from Scripture that Jesus of Nazareth taught and did many great things, but at the same time one is forced to conclude that he did not allow the disciples to rest in these things. They were led on to paradox, perplexity, despair and darkness and he left them there. Had he not been raised from death, they would have remained there. The light of his resurrection, however, came and illuminated his death, his ministry on earth and disclosed the enigma of his words and deeds. In this sense, on Easter day it was not only the Christ who was raised from the dead, but the whole life of Jesus on earth rose with him.<sup>2</sup> So, it is a drastic reduction of the New Testament message to attempt to build a gospel only upon the ethical teaching, great deeds and the cross of Jesus of Galilee apart from that which is the climax of the story.<sup>3</sup>

This might be clearer when one considers the contents of the message of the New Testament, for one cannot fail to note the central and all important place of the resurrection in the confessional and kerygmatic statements of the New Testament and the Christian Church. It is not merely a happy ending to an otherwise tragic

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<sup>1</sup> A.M. Ramsey, The Resurrection of Christ, London, 1946, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> cf. H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, pp. 185ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. E. Renan, Vie de Jésus, Paris, 1863, ET: The Life of Jesus, London, 1935.



tale, but it is the vantage point from which everything else becomes transparent and meaningful. The Gospels, one might say, are clearly written from this vantage point. They are not biographies of the historical Jesus, with a resurrection as appendix, but from the start the resurrection serves as a prism that shows the real colours of the life, ministry, suffering and death of the man Jesus of Nazareth. Seen through this prism, it is the life of the Messiah, who is none other than the incarnate Son of God. In the Pauline kerygma things are not different. For Paul the resurrection is the focus both of his own preaching and of the faith of the church (1 Cor 15.15-19). To the Colossians he writes that the Christian faith is "faith in the working of God who raised him (i.e. Jesus Christ) from the dead" (Col 2.12, cf. Eph. 1.20). Regarding the phrase, R. Bultmann rightly points out that the adjectival clause, "who raised him from the dead", becomes a formula-like attribute of God<sup>4</sup> (Col 2.20, Eph 1.20, Ga 1.1, 1 Pe 1.21, cf. Ro 8.11, 1 Cor 6.14, 2 Cor 4.14). Even if one cannot say that in this one clause the Kerygma is comprised, one can say that in the Kerygma the clause is central. The same is true of the Kerygma of the primitive Church, as recorded by Luke in Acts. Whatever the differences in emphasis may be between Paul and the Jerusalem Church, there is no difference whatever in the centrality of the resurrection in the Kerygma. All the speeches of Peter, recorded in the early chapters of Acts, bear this out. On each occasion the resurrection is the decisive point of the sermon. Because the cross is followed by the resurrection, the death of the man Jesus is the saving event (cf. Ac 2.24f., 31f., 3.14f., 26, 4.10f., 5.30f., 10.39f., cf. also Stephen's speech: 7.51f., Paul's speech: 17.31). On the basis of all this there can be no doubt that for the New Testament writers the Kerygma stands or falls with the

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<sup>4</sup> R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953, ET: Theology of the New Testament, 2 Vols., London, 1952-55, Vol. I., p. 31.

resurrection.<sup>5</sup>

In the church this New Testament conviction is fundamental to the whole Christian tradition. There has never been any Christian life which did not assume the fundamental significance for salvation of the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, one can say with all assurance that it is both historically and theologically necessary to begin with the resurrection. Floyd V. Filson deliberately adopted this as the orientation for his exposition of New Testament Theology under the title, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Barnabas Lindars in his book, New Testament Apologetic,<sup>8</sup> showed, although he is a relatively conservative critic, how Old Testament texts (e.g. Ps 110.1) were used in connection with the fact of the resurrection to establish the Messiahship of Jesus. A number of recent more detailed studies have made the same point.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> cf. G. Ebeling, Das Wesen des christlichen Glaubens, Tübingen, 1959, ET: The Nature of Faith, London, 1961, pp. 61f. A. Richardson, History Sacred and Profane, London, 1964, p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> cf. J. Moltmann, Theologie der Hoffnung, München, 1965, ET: Theology of Hope, London, 1967, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Floyd V. Filson, Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, Nashville, 1956. "The Focus of History: The Resurrection in Biblical Theology", Interpretation, 2 1948, pp. 24ff.

<sup>8</sup> B. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, London, 1961.

<sup>9</sup> e.g. N. Clark, Interpreting the Resurrection, London, 1967. P.G. Smith, The Narratives of the Resurrection, London, 1926. S.H. Hooke, The Resurrection of Christ as History and Experience, London, 1967. K. Lake, The Historical Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, New York, 1907. W.H. Lampe and D.M. Mackinnon, The Resurrection, London, 1966. R.R. Niebuhr, Resurrection and Historical Reason, New York, 1957. A.M. Ramsey, op. cit., H. Grass, Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte, Göttingen, 1962. K.H. Rengstorff, Die Auferstehung Christi, Luther-Verlag, 1952. W. Künneth, Theologie der Auferstehung, München, 1934, ET: The Theology of the resurrection, London, 1965. C.F. Evans, Resurrection and the New Testament, London, 1970. W. Marxsen, Die Auferstehung Jesu von Nazareth, Gütersloh, 1968, ET: The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, London, 1970. Further literature, see: B. Klappert, Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung, Wuppertal, 1967.



The purpose of this study is also to investigate the Easter texts of the New Testament, with particular reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians<sup>15</sup>, however, especially from the point of view of their tradition, redaction and theology. A critical survey of recent studies on the resurrection may perhaps provide the surest guide as to the method of our study, by leading us to a reflection upon the question of the place of historical criticism for the investigation of the Easter texts. Section I deals with this methodological problem. Then, following the methodology and viewpoint set out, we investigate the Easter texts of the Pauline epistles and synoptic Gospels respectively in Sections II and III. In the concluding chapter, we attempt to restate the main thread of our theme, summarizing and analysing the results of the whole investigation. We also attempt to examine them in regard to the problem of hermeneutics. Some suggestions for the task of the translation of the Easter texts into contemporary idioms bring the thesis to a conclusion.

## SECTION 1

### THE EASTER TEXTS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM

#### Chapter 1 Methodological Problems

##### 1.1 A critical survey of the studies on the resurrection

The subject of the resurrection is in fact very much in discussion in contemporary theology, and it plays a great part in the whole debate around Bultmann's programme of demythologizing. Both those in favour of and against this programme have to answer fundamental questions on the resurrection. This, however, does not mean that the questions as such are new. Actually they have been with us since the 18th century, when they were raised by Rationalism and sharply formulated by the German philosopher-theologian H.S. Reimarus<sup>1</sup> (1694-1768) and G. Lessing. G. Lessing, for instance, made the famous statement that "accidental truth of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason".<sup>2</sup> Lessing wrote these words in 1778, in an essay "On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power". In this essay, he dealt with the problem of the basis of truth, i.e. for him: reasonable truth, which is capable of logical demonstration and therefore is eternal. Historical facts, however, do not fall within this category, for they are accidentals. That does not mean that they are not true, but they are not "necessary truths of reason". Applying this to the fact of the resurrection, Lessing declared that he accepted its historicity (most likely a concession to orthodoxy), but it was no proof of Christ's deity, for to argue from accidental fact to necessary truth is a

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<sup>1</sup> H.S. Reimarus, e.g., The principal truths of natural religions defended and illustrated, in nine dissertations, London, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> H. Chadwick (ed.), Lessing's Theological Writings, London, 1956, p. 53.



"metabasis eis to allo genos". In this connection Lessing wrote about "the ugly broad ditch which I cannot get across, however often and however earnestly I have tried to make the leap".<sup>3</sup>

Since Lessing's time the problem of the "ugly ditch", the problem of the resurrection and history, in other words, that is, the problem of so-called "facta and dicta", has been a vexing one for theology.

Distressed by this problem, modern dogmatic theology shows many signs of uncertainty in its handling of the subject, a tendency to irrelevant interpretation and a manifest distortion of the problem. This bankruptcy of a theology of the resurrection in the field of dogmatic theology, which is based on a misunderstanding of the problem of facta-dicta, is of course largely due to Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who supposed that "The facts of the resurrection and the ascension of Christ.... cannot be taken as an authentic part of the doctrine of his person".<sup>4</sup> "The Spiritual presence which he (Jesus) promised, and all that he said of his continuing influence upon those left behind, is not mediated by either of these two facts".<sup>5</sup> "Faith in these facts is thus not an independent element in the original content of faith in Christ".<sup>6</sup> This typical indifference of Schleiermacher to the resurrection was not remedied by the statements of A. Ritschl (1822-1889). He regards all assertions that can be made about the exalted Christ as "attributes

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<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> F. Schleiermacher, Der Christliche Glaube, Gotha, 1889, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> F. Schleiermacher, op. cit., pp. 97f.

<sup>6</sup> F. Schleiermacher, op. cit., p. 99.

of his existence in time".<sup>7</sup> He declares that "the statement that Christ is exalted to the right hand of God is either meaningless to us, since Christ as the Exalted Lord is altogether hidden from us, or else it will open for us the door to fanatical views of every conceivable kind".<sup>8</sup>

Most of the theologians more or less influenced by these leaders adopt a similar attitude towards the subject of the resurrection. The result is that the resurrection of Jesus is no longer regarded by them as a necessary element of the Gospel, at least it does not have the reality and power that it had in the primitive Church. Typical of this outlook is, for example, the point of view of H. Stephan.<sup>9</sup> In rejecting views, however, so disastrous to Easter faith and aligning itself with the Reformers and Orthodoxy, the so called "positive Theology" has preserved the substance of the resurrection witness. Yet, it has not been able to provide a new theological basis for a more fruitful approach to the problem of Easter. In this connection the criticism by R. Frank is worth noting: "One cannot imagine anything more contrary to the witness of the scripture than these assertions... that the fact of the resurrection of Christ is not to be taken as an essential part of the doctrine of the person of Christ.... So the attempt to

<sup>7</sup> A. Ritschl, Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, 3 Bde. Bonn, 1870-74, Bd. III, pp. 383f. pp. 415f, pp. 423f, p. 441.

<sup>8</sup> A. Ritschl, op. cit., pp. 407f.

<sup>9</sup> H. Stephan, Glaubenslehre, Giessen, 1921, Bd. II, pp. 197f: "The resurrection of Jesus is inextricably interwoven with the apostolic witness to Christ and occupies an important place in the faith of the disciples." "The experience of the disciples does not have the same significance for us." "We do not require it to the same extent. Even without the experience of meeting the risen Lord, the disciples would inevitably have acquired the right understanding of his life and death." The most it can do for the believer is to "confirm his own guesses", "enrich and deepen his own thought."



formulate a Christian dogmatic... without emphasizing this fact must be described as senseless."<sup>10</sup> This is a sharp criticism which at least draws the attention of theology to the New Testament message of the resurrection. One can see, however, a more profound understanding of the theological importance of the resurrection of Jesus in the studies of L. Ihmels<sup>11</sup> and C. Stange.<sup>12</sup> Ihmels contends that "Nothing less than the whole understanding of Christianity" depends on the resurrection. "We may say without exaggeration: at the tomb in Jerusalem the ultimate choice will be made between two totally different world views."<sup>13</sup> These essential insights, together with ideas taken over from M. Kähler,<sup>14</sup> are asserted by P. Althaus, whose theological expositions always presuppose the event of Easter.<sup>15</sup> They are also reaffirmed by Karl Heim,<sup>16</sup> who thought that neither

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<sup>10</sup> R. Frank, Die christliche Wahrheit, II, Erlangen, 1876-1880, pp. 208f.

<sup>11</sup> L. Ihmels, Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi, Leipzig, 1917, cf. "Wie entsteht die Gewissheit um die Auferstehung Jesu?", Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 25 1914, pp. 853-901.

<sup>12</sup> C. Stange, "Kreuz und Auferstehung", ZeitSysTheol, 24, 1955, pp. 379-400, "Die Himmelfahrt Jesu", ZeitSysTheol, 22, 1953, pp. 218-222, "Die Auferstehung Jesu", ZeitSysTheol, 1923, pp. 705-740, "Zur Kritik des Auferstehungsglaubens", ZeitSysTheol, 18, 1941, pp. 589-601.

<sup>13</sup> L. Ihmels, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> M. Kähler, Christliche Wissenschaft, Erlangen, 1883, p. 327.

<sup>15</sup> P. Althaus, Die letzten Dinge, Gütersloh, 1924, p. 56. Theologische Aufsätze, 1929, pp. 2f., pp. 123f., p. 219. Grundriss der Dogmatik, 2 Teile, Erlangen, 1929-32, II, p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> K. Heim, Leitfaden der Dogmatik, Halle, 1923, I, pp. 43ff. II, p. 86. Glauben und Leben, Berlin, 1931, pp. 419f.

dogmatics nor the philosophy of religion would be possible without the fact of the resurrection. The question of the resurrection had been raised also by the dialectical theologians: i.e. Karl Barth refers to the "central importance" of the resurrection of Jesus. He considers that the resurrection is the point "from which light falls on the whole" and it is the "assault upon Christendom".<sup>17</sup> The content of the proclamation of Christ is that he has been raised from the dead. The pivot of primitive Christian faith has not been disregarded by Karl Barth and central importance has been attached to it by E. Brunner<sup>18</sup> and F. Gogarten.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, one cannot deny that since the days of Orthodoxy, in the field of Biblical Study, it has been widely accepted that the resurrection of Jesus was a "historical fact", and the problems of the historicity of the resurrection as "facta" are sharpened by attempts to rationalize it. Such attempts have been made repeatedly with many variations by asking what actually took place in the resurrection. Above all D.F. Strauss<sup>20</sup> (1808-1874) is one of the typical classic representatives of the famous subjective vision hypothesis. To him the resurrection of Jesus is a "historical fact" (factum), which is seen

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<sup>17</sup> K. Barth, Die Auferstehung der Toten, München, 1924, pp. 1f., pp. 86f., pp. 125f., Die Kirchliche Dogmatik, Bd. I, Zürich, 1959, p. 275. Der Römerbrief, München, 1922(2), p. 62, p. 68, p. 71, p. 82, pp. 126f., pp. 348f., pp. 413f., p. 464.

<sup>18</sup> E. Brunner, Der Mittler, Tübingen, 1927, pp. 511f., p. 522, p. 528.

<sup>19</sup> F. Gogarten, Ich glaube an den dreieinigen Gott, Jena, 1926, pp. 164ff.

<sup>20</sup> D.F. Strauss, Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet, Leipzig, 1874, p. 631, pp. 634ff. D.F. Strauss's observation on the appearances of the risen one is quite near to Bultmann's. They are reduced to "visionary experience" of the disciples. Bultmann does not consider these "appearances" to be of any special material importance for theology. Bultmann, therefore, thinks that the Easter tradition is based upon "a false interpretation of reality by the disciples". See: R. Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes 1941, Göttingen, p. 539.



to be a "phenomenon" that is naturally and historically understandable and psychologically explicable. Again Schleiermacher is also famous for the theory that Jesus only appeared to have died on the cross, subsequently revived in the coolness of the tomb, managed to hide himself from the Jewish and Roman authorities, and later met his disciples. Representative of this sort of naturalistic explanation in the present century is F. Spitta (1852-1924). E. Renan's (1823-1892) cynical pronouncement that the passion of a hallucinated woman gave the world a risen Lord is also well known. Special mention is due to Harnack's grandiosely conceived attempt at psychological explanation.<sup>21</sup> Here one recognizes a combination of the transfiguration story and certain subjective experiences on the part of Peter after Jesus' death which are all supposed to explain the "vision of Peter". The psychological theory of the resurrection has been held widely in the present century, and its most classic expression is that of Maurice Goguel. "There is more trust in the statement, 'They saw Jesus because they believed and were convinced that he was living' than in that which lies behind the tradition, 'they believed in the resurrection of Jesus because they saw him living after his death.' The resurrection of Jesus is in reality the resurrection of that faith in him which the disciples

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<sup>21</sup> A.v. Harnack, "Die Verklärungsgeschichte Jesu", in: SAB, 1922, pp. 62-80: Concerning psychological theories see: H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, pp. 201ff.

had had during his ministry."<sup>22</sup> E. Hirsch's<sup>23</sup> thought also is not far from rationalizing explanations.

Modern historical critics have approached the Easter texts of the New Testament with the question of what actually took place in the resurrection. They have attempted on the one hand to reconstruct the history of Easter by harmonizing the varied data, and on the other hand to isolate the factual element in the resurrection narratives. Repeated efforts of historical critical studies have been persistently concerned with analysing or piecing together the Easter texts of the New Testament, that is, reconstructing the sequence of events that followed the death of Jesus by names of a harmony of the varied data (1 Cor 15.3-8 and the Easter narratives of the Gospels). According to Professor Hugh Anderson notable among recent so called "harmonies" are those of Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen<sup>24</sup> and G.D. Yarnold.<sup>25</sup> H.F. von Campenhausen gives historical reliability and priority to the tradition of 1 Cor 15.3-8 and tries to fit together exactly the evidence of the Gospels with it. He suggests the following results.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> M. Goguel, La Naissance du Christianisme, Paris, 1946. ET: The Birth of Christianity, London, 1953. pp. 66f.

<sup>23</sup> E. Hirsch, Jesus Christus der Herr, Göttingen, 1926, "Zum Problem des Osterglaubens", TheoLitZeit, 65, 1940 pp. 295-301. Also see: Jesus Christus der Herr, Göttingen, 1926 pp. 38ff.: According to Hirsch, Easter becomes the "story of the heart" of Peter and then "the story of the first church". He would identify Peter's subjective experience of the forgiveness of sin with "the true secret of the Easter Story".

<sup>24</sup> H.v. Campenhausen, Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab, Heidelberg, 1958.

<sup>25</sup> G.D. Yarnold, Risen indeed, New York, 1956.

<sup>26</sup> H.v. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 51. ET: H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 190.



(1) After the arrest and death of Jesus the disciples remained close by in Jerusalem (all the Gospels), but no longer ventured out in public (Mk, Mt). We are not very well informed of their condition, but they were downcast and ill prepared for what would happen (Lk).

(2) "On the third day" women of the circle of Jesus' followers discovered that his tomb was open and empty (all the Gospels). No appearances of Jesus took place here (Mk, Lk).

(3) The report of the empty tomb occasioned uneasiness in the disciples. Peter was the first, it seems, to understand the empty tomb as the pledge of the resurrection and to imbue the others with that idea.

(4) The disciples thereupon went, under Peter's leadership to Galilee (Mk, Mt).

(5) There took place hereabouts an appearance to Peter alone (Paul, Lk), then to the Twelve (all the Gospels), then to the five hundred brethren (Paul), then to James (Paul), and to all the apostles (Paul). One would have to think of these events as developing in rapid succession. Possibly, however, the last or second last of these appearances had occurred already in Jerusalem. Here are to be found later, at any rate, Peter, James, the Twelve, and a wider circle of Galilean disciples (Paul, Ac).

(6) The last appearance to Paul followed much later (1 Cor. 15.8).

The weakness of all these "harmonies", however, as Anderson points out, is first of all that "they arise from a chronological interest or concern that seems to be quite alien to the Easter texts of the New Testament, and second, that by focusing our attention on the thoughts and actions and movement of the disciples, they de-emphasize the central and decisive message inherent in every

Easter report that everything men could never do or say or imagine GOD HAS DONE IN RAISING JESUS FROM THE DEAD."<sup>27</sup> "Against the modern view of a harmony each Easter story appears to have enjoyed a vigorous independent life from the first, and to have been adequate, each one in its integrity".<sup>28</sup>

Discussion of the several separate historical problems of the resurrection has been essentially inconclusive. For instance, critical historical analysis and construction offer no satisfying solution to the question of the locality of the appearances. To the conflict between the tradition of an appearance in Galilee found in Matthew and the tradition of appearances in Jerusalem found in Luke historical criticism has either retorted by trying to reconcile the two accounts or has moved into the defence now of the Galilean, now of the Jerusalem theory.

The Galilean theory has had some firm adherents who have believed it to be the earliest and the best and the key to the understanding of the whole development of the tradition concerning the resurrection. Kirsopp Lake<sup>29</sup> and Gardner-Smith<sup>30</sup> have presented this view on the basis of the most thorough attempts to unravel

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<sup>27</sup> H. Anderson, "The Easter Witness of the Evangelists", in: The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary perspective, ed., by H. Anderson and W. Barclay, Oxford, 1965, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> K. Lake, The Historical Evidence of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, New York, 1907.

<sup>30</sup> J.P. Gardner-Smith, The Narratives of the Resurrection, London, 1926.



traditions.<sup>31</sup> H. Lietzmann,<sup>32</sup> von Campenhausen,<sup>33</sup> H. Grass<sup>34</sup> and L. Brun<sup>35</sup> have also argued that the first appearance took place in Galilee.

Among attempts to reconcile the conflicting reports, the suggestion which

<sup>31</sup> Three reasons: 1. It is urged that Mark, our earliest document, clearly points towards an appearance in Galilee as the climax of its own story. 2. It is urged that the disciples were in Galilee already. K. Lake argued that they had fled away home at the time of the crucifixion and had sought their former way of life, disillusioned (an extreme inference from Mark 14.50). Gardner-Smith criticized this view, pointed out that it is unlikely that the disciples would have left the city during the feast, and preferred a tradition found in the Apocryphal "Gospel of Peter": that the disciples fled back to Galilee only when the feast was over. 3. It is far easier to explain how stories of appearances in Galilee might come to be transferred to Jerusalem, the subsequent centre of the church, than it is to explain how the Galilean tradition arose if the appearances were in Jerusalem.

<sup>32</sup> H. Lietzmann, Geschichte der Alten Kirche, 3 Bde, Berlin, 1932-38. I Bd., p. 52: "In Mark 16.9 ist uns noch ein deutlicher Hinweis darauf erhalten, dass die ersten Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen vor seinen Jüngern in Galiläa stattgefunden haben: dort hat Petrus den Meister wiedergesehen, dort haben sich die zwölf wieder zusammengefunden und sind von dem Erhöhten mit der Mission für seine Sache betraut worden. Und so sind sie nach Jerusalem gezogen."

<sup>33</sup> H. von Campenhausen, op. cit.

<sup>34</sup> H. Grass, op. cit., pp. 119f., p. 126: "Die Lösung des Lokalisierungsproblems kann nicht lauten: Jerusalem-Galiläa-Jerusalem, sondern nur Galiläa-Jerusalem. Es lässt sich auch gut verstehen, dass die geflohenen Jünger nach der Begegnung mit dem Auferstandenen nach Jerusalem zurückkehrten an die Front, die sie bei Jesu Verhaftung schimpflich verlassen hatten. Dagegen ist die Vorstellung von Jüngern, die erst zum Stelldichein und Befehlsempfang nach Galiläa reisen, um dann nach Jerusalem zurückzukehren, ziemlich ungereimt."

<sup>35</sup> L. Brun, Die Auferstehung Christi in der urchristlichen Ueberlieferung, Oslo, Strasbourg, 1925.

was made by F.C. Burkitt<sup>36</sup> is well known. He supposed a "Lost Ending" of Mark and placed the Quo Vadis legend on Easter Day, suggesting that in fact Peter started on his way to Galilee, but was confronted with the risen one and forthwith returned to Jerusalem. Recently C.F.D. Moule<sup>37</sup> proposed that the resurrection appearances are to be seen in the light of festival pilgrimages. The disciples departed from Jerusalem not out of cowardice immediately after the crucifixion, but only after the Feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread, and returned to Galilee. Then a little later they went back to Jerusalem for the following Feast of Pentecost.<sup>38</sup> There could be frequent intercommunication between Jerusalem and Galilee and the possibility that the risen Jesus could have appeared to his disciples in both places as Moule's proposal implied cannot be dismissed. Aside from the lack of historical evidence, however, "all such hypotheses really fail to explain why Mark and Matthew should opt so strongly for Galilee, and Luke so strongly for Jerusalem."<sup>39</sup> It does not answer the problem of Mark's and Matthew's redactional addiction to Galilee, or Luke's and John's redactional addiction to Jerusalem.

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<sup>36</sup> C.F. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings, London, 1924.

<sup>37</sup> C.F.D. Moule, "Postresurrection Appearances in the Light of Festival Pilgrimages", NTStud, 4, 1957, pp. 58ff.

<sup>38</sup> In this case the *συνλιζόμενος*, which Moule takes to be the preferred reading in Acts 1.4, would refer to the festival lodging of Jesus with his disciples in the environs of Jerusalem.

<sup>39</sup> H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 39.



Concerning this problem, one cannot ignore that E. Lohmeyer, taking the alternation between Galilee and Jerusalem as the scene of the resurrection appearances, supposed a twofold origin for primitive Christianity,<sup>40</sup> a Galilean branch characterized by a distinctive "Son of Man" Christology and a Jerusalem branch characterized by a "Messiah" Christology. His hypothesis, however, has not been accepted by most critics.<sup>41</sup>

No less difficult to resolve than the historical question of the locale of the appearances of the risen Jesus is the empty tomb problem. The question of the historicity of the empty tomb tradition and the relation of this tradition to the other Easter traditions<sup>42</sup> have aroused controversy from the beginning and still remain undecided. Many attempts have been made to save the historicity of the

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<sup>40</sup> E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1956.

<sup>41</sup> e.g., see, H. Grass, op. cit., 1956.

<sup>42</sup> The earliest statement about the resurrection, as is generally acknowledged, is in Paul's quotation of a Kerygmatic formula in 1 Cor 15. 3-8. E. Bammel has subjected this passage to an analysis with the methods of Traditionsgeschichte (TheolZeit. 2, 1955, p. 401-p. 419, "Herkunft und Funktion der Traditionselemente in 1 Kor 15.1-11"). As a result he discovers the passage to be composite, consisting of three originally distinct formulae, which he numbers formula I, II and III respectively.

Formula I is a four-line verse: Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν.... καὶ ἐτάφη...

καὶ ἐγήγερται .... (καὶ ὤφθη)

There is the same number of words in each line, rhythm ending, and a combination of synthetic and antithetic parallelism, all features of Semitic poetry. There are other features pointing to the earliest Palestinian Church as the Sitz im Leben of the formula. (a) the anarthrous Christos, a Hebraism as in Jn 4.25 and Dn 9.25. (b) the hyper theology, characteristic of the earliest Palestinian Church, and distinctively non-Pauline, except where Paul is quoting traditional formulae. (cf. O. Cullmann, Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1957, pp. 72ff.). (c) the reverential passive egēgertai and the use of ophthē instead of ephanē, representing Hebrew nir'ah. (cf. J. Jeremias, Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu, Göttingen, 1960, p. 96.) The first two verbs apethanen and etaphē refer to historical occurrences, i.e. occurrences which are in principle open to

empty tomb. W. Michaelis,<sup>43</sup> K.H. Rengstorf,<sup>44</sup> E. Stauffer<sup>45</sup> and H. von Campenhausen<sup>46</sup> are some of those who affirm the historicity of the empty tomb. However, refusing to corroborate the historicity of the empty tomb, some scholars try to explain the narratives of the empty tomb as a hallucination (H. Lietzmann<sup>47</sup> H. Grass<sup>48</sup>) and others, not necessarily contradicting the hallucination theory, lay emphasis rather on the Kerygma (R. Bultmann,<sup>49</sup> G. Bornkamm,<sup>50</sup> H. Conzelmann<sup>51</sup>).

42 (contd.)

historical verification. The esēgertai and opthē are, however, faith events, that is to say, they contain within themselves two elements, an implied historical occurrence, capable in principle of historical verification, and an explicit faith interpretation, i.e. the interpretation of the implied past-historical occurrence as an act of God.

Formula II: three appearances: to Peter, to the Twelve, to more than 500 brethren.

Formula III: two appearances: to James, to all apostles.

43 W. Michaelis, Die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen, Basel, 1944.

44 K.H. Rengstorf, Die Auferstehung Jesu, Luther-Verlag, 1952.

45 E. Stauffer, Jesus. Gestalt und Geschichte, Bern, 1957.

46 H. von Campenhausen, op. cit.

47 H. Lietzmann, op. cit., pp. 52ff.

48 H. Grass, op. cit., p. 248.

49 R. Bultmann, Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, Göttingen, 1921. ET: The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford, 1963. "Neues Testament und Mythologie", EvangTheol, Vol 7, 1941. Das Verhältnis der urchristlichen Christusbotschaft zum historischen Jesus, Heidelberg, 1962.

50 G. Bornkamm, Jesus von Nazareth, Stuttgart, 1959, ET: Jesus of Nazareth, London and New York, 1960.

51 H. Conzelmann, "Auferstehung Christi", RGK (3), 1, cols. 698ff.



Therefore, the question of the relation of the empty tomb stories to the other traditions has also been inconclusive.<sup>52</sup>

Having briefly looked over these relative failures of historical criticism to reach any assured results in regard to the historical question of the resurrection, one is now led to the conviction that one cannot simply reconstruct the facta. This means that one should not pursue the historical critical attempt to reconstruct facta. It does not mean, however, that the question of what happened is irrelevant to theology. Rather the question of the historicity of the resurrection does not seem to be answerable on the basis of purely historical critical study. When one acknowledges the indissoluble interpretation of facta-dicta one can see why historical reconstruction of the facta in themselves is not open to one.

However, if the question of what happened in the resurrection is relevant to theology, in what sense is it so? It is so obvious that the problem cannot be satisfactorily solved from the inward life or nature of the disciples.

One might be allowed to recognize the text, however, in which Paul ties in his own experience of the risen Christ with the encounters of the first disciples, as the one that throws light on the problem. "Last of all as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me." (1 Cor 15.8). The question is what is the appropriate mood or posture in which one should approach the Easter texts. Here in 1 Cor 15.8, Paul himself gives one a good clue. For when one thinks of what happened to him on the Damascus road, as Anderson remarks, "We are not confronted with a 'serial story', first the appearance of the risen one, which the latter day historian could verify as a fact, second the apostle's conviction

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<sup>52</sup> e.g. A. Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1958. p. 196.

of the reality of Jesus' appearance, and third his decision to believe on the basis of the fact."<sup>53</sup> Rather one is confronted with a "single indivisible event: Paul falls down in faith before the overpowering reality of the Crucified One."<sup>54</sup> Even so historical criticism's repeated attempts to compartmentalize the Easter event by isolating the factual element from the message and faith with which the history is bound up, have constantly tended to reduce the resurrection itself to a bare fact that is merely recollected from far away and long ago, and not experienced here and now as a vibrant present power and reality.

In regard to the problem of what happened in the resurrection, historical criticism surely cannot take one very far and one is forced to take hold of the dimension of faith that is imprinted on all the Easter stories, the interpretation of the Event.

Consequently, in this sense, the Easter stories, whatever one thinks of their origin or place in the tradition, or however theologically legitimate it may be to take enigmatic facts as the basis of Easter faith, can be said to have a positive theological significance.

## 1.2 Text and interpretation

As J. Hempel rightly remarked, "Die biblische Denkweise" is consistently "faktizistisches Denken".<sup>55</sup> Therefore, every narrative in the Scripture goes

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<sup>53</sup> H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, p. 204.

<sup>54</sup> G. Ebeling, Das Wesen des christlichen Glaubens, Tübingen, 1959, ET: The Nature of Faith, London, 1961, p. 69.

<sup>55</sup> J. Hempel, "Faktizität der Geschichte im Biblischen Denken," in: Biblical Studies in Memory of H.C. Allemann, ed., J.C. Myers, O. Reimherr, H.N. Bream, New York, 1960.



back to or implies facta. Dicta are closely tied up with and based upon facta. However, dicta themselves are not bare facta. Therefore, one should admit that one is actually in a reverse course against die biblische Denkweise if one tries to interpret dicta as simple empirical occurrence. The revelation in the Bible is intermingled facta-dicta for an interpreter. The object and subject of biblical study is neither the simple dicta nor the simple facta, but the facta-dicta that compose the history of salvation and all facta-dicta are brought to focus on the one historical event, the factum-dictum, that is the event of Jesus Christ.

When one interprets facta-dicta that centre upon the one factum-dictum, actually one is not free from the tendency to incline either towards facta or dicta; for science (Wissenschaft) always intends an integrated grasp or understanding of the matter.

A theology which has dicta as its centre is so called "Kerygmatische Theologie", such as is represented by R. Bultmann. On the contrary, a theology that looks for a solution of the problem mainly in facta is represented by W. Pannenberg. The irrelevancy and limitation of kerygmatic theology, which has merely dicta as its centre, is to be recognized in that it tends to interpret the text entirely as "Nacherzählungen" of the primitive community, that is, it concentrates on the community which is telling a story rather than on the story which is being told, of which the content is an act of God. The contrary interpretation, the historical, is also one sided. For the text that is an intermingling of facta-dicta does not allow itself to be interpreted only as facta.

Concerning the character of the inner structure of facta-dicta, it is possible to understand it not as static, but as dynamic: a relational structure

which could be understood as a dynamic movement between the two. Dicta as a confession, in other words, as an interpretation or reflection, are originated by the disclosure of realitas from facta themselves. For facta could not be left on their own without reflections which are actually themselves dicta. This movement that one recognizes between facta and dicta is the dynamic movement: the movement of life. Facta and dicta, both are closely interrelated and mediated jointly. This is the reason why it is irrelevant to raise the question merely concerning the historicity of the text, facta-dicta. To ask simply about the historicity of the event, which consists both of dicta and facta, does not promise any fruitful result.

However, one cannot ignore that the text, facta-dicta, has clearly two aspects: a historical and a theological aspect. For instance, when the kerygmatic tradition asserts that Christ appeared, this statement contains both aspects. So it is in a sense understandable that there have been two main schools of thought on the subject of the resurrection. It has frequently been the subject of theological and historical discussion. The situation has not changed yet, and there is a deep gulf which cannot be overcome easily between theological discussion and historical-critical discussion.

In this connection, one must affirm that our relation to history and our understanding of history as well, since the enlightenment, has been completely different from that of the primitive church in New Testament times. The Weltanschauung of the New Testament writers was different from ours today. For them dicta were also and at the same time facta, dicta had the same significance as facta. Modern historical critical research, however, sometimes cannot confirm the historicity of the contents of the texts which would have been accepted as historical occurrences by the people in the primitive Christian community.



In the present day, hardly anyone holds the opinion that man was created out of mud and the spirit of God. If one wants to know anything about "how" the creature came into being, he turns to natural science, for it alone can give him information about this question. This information is of course not necessarily definitive. Nevertheless most people would not try to overcome this uncertainty by means of the biblical story of the creation of man. It is also true, however, that natural science undoubtedly cannot affirm the full truth about the creation, for over against its proposed explanation one can still speak of the creation in theological terms without depending on the conclusions drawn from natural science.

Although the story of the creation does not intend to state "how" man came into being, but "who" created man, nevertheless the writers of the story of creation may well have thought their information to be in accordance with actual physical facts. On the contrary, when one understands that here one is only concerned with the fact that God created man, thereby one grasps the matter in a different way, which clashes with one's scientific belief. Thus, one regards only the theological aspect as proper, while at the same time one is no longer able to share the scientific outlook of the writer, for natural science has its own methodology.

Our discussion, however, does not focus on the relation of the concerns of natural science to those of theology, but on the concerns of history to those of theology.

One must simply acknowledge that the scientific study of history also has its own methodology: the historical critical method.

The problem to be clarified, however, is not the relevancy or legitimacy of historical critical study itself in terms of method, but rather the function

and range of historical study within the whole theological enterprise.

If the peculiar nature of the text, sc. facta-dicta, which we have discussed already, does not allow one to raise on its own the question of the historicity of the text, then what would be understood as the range and function of historical critical study? This is a methodological question concerning the place of historical critical study within theological science as a whole.

Before one discusses this problem, however, perhaps one should argue again the untenability of the question of the historicity of the resurrection from another point of view: the relativity and limits of the historical critical approach.

### 1.3 The untenability of the question of the historicity of the resurrection

As we have seen so far, since the days of orthodoxy the question regarding the realitas of the event of the resurrection in the field of biblical study has been mainly concerned with the fact which is reported and proclaimed in the text. Even if the witnessed, facta-dicta, do not only attempt to report what happened, they somehow are related to an event. Indeed they do not merely wish to tell of their own new self-understanding in the Easter faith, but in that faith and as a result of it they reported something also about the event. It is not by any means self-evident that the point of their statements is the new self-understanding of faith; rather, the Easter narratives themselves, facta-dicta, force one to ask about the realitas of the event of which they tell and in which they are rooted.

Therefore, it is important to recognize the justification of this concern with the "historical" which exists behind the facta-dicta. Undoubtedly the primitive Church's witness to the resurrection, facta-dicta, has something to do with history. Surely the witness to the resurrection is a declaration by real



people, and provides or implies information about certain experiences in the past which have affected the course of history. Since that is so, it is rather difficult to agree with K. Barth in his view that for the resurrection message, "place and time is quite unimportant and the fact of the disciples' 'seeing' is immaterial."<sup>56</sup> It is even more difficult to agree with R. Bultmann's remark that the eye witness accounts of the resurrection of Jesus cited by Paul, and his arguments in 1 Cor 15.3-8 are "fatal" because that is to turn the message of the New Testament upside down and remove the basis of the disciple's faith in the resurrection.<sup>57</sup> There is no doubt that the New Testament has an interest in the connection between resurrection and historicity.

The concept of the historical, however, not only aims at the exclusion of the subjective, but also includes indispensable elements of value in its definitions of the concrete, the completed and the unique. The question of the unique and unrepeatable character of the resurrection event, which took place independently of man's consciousness and his powers of discernment, is an insoluble problem for historical critical examination.

In fact, the question as to the certainty of the realitas which underlies the proclamation of the resurrection, has often taken the form of historical critical examination. This is in harmony with the texts, in so far as they themselves speak of an event which can be dated. It is alien, however, to the text if the historical critical form of the question implied a definite anterior understanding of what is historically possible, and one which since the birth

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<sup>56</sup> K. Barth, Die Auferstehung der Toten, München, 1924, p. 143.

<sup>57</sup> R. Bultmann, "Neues Testament und Mythologie", in: Kerygma und Mythos, Bd. I, ed., H.W. Bartsch, Hamburg, 1948, pp. 15-48. ET: Kerygma and Myth, I, London 1954, p. 39.

of the modern age does not coincide with the understanding which these texts themselves have of the historically possible as being the divinely possible. The concept of the historical, of the historically possible and the historically probable, has been developed in the modern age on the basis of experiences of history other than the experience of the raising of Jesus from the dead: namely, since the Enlightenment, on the basis of the experience of man's ability to calculate history and make it. If, as has frequently been pointed out, it is true that the experiences of history on the basis of which the concepts of the historical have been constructed have nowadays an anthropocentric character, that "history" is here man's history and man is the real subject of history in the sense of its metaphysical hypokeimenon, then it is plain that on this presupposition the assertion of the raising of Jesus by God is a historically impossible and therefore a historically meaningless statement. Yet even on this presupposition there is point in asking "how far and with what degree of probability the actual facts and the actual course of event can still be ascertained?"<sup>58</sup> even if that brings one to the limits of the historical as these are prescribed by the presupposed view of historical fact as such. Enquiries conducted in the light of the modern concept of the historical lead neither to the fundamental probability of the resurrection nor to fundamental historical scepticism. They, however, prevent theology from abandoning the ground of history altogether in despair.

The historian who enquires into the realitas of the resurrection of the Jesus of history is confronted in the biblical texts not only by the realitas of history, but also with a different outlook on the experience and significance of history. The experience of history which is expressed in the historical

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<sup>58</sup> H. von Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 7.



approach is here confronted not merely by events which are more or less well attested or more or less imaginatively embellished, but is confronted also by a different experience of history. Hence the historical question as to the realitas of the resurrection of Jesus recoils upon the historical enquirer and calls in question the basic experience of history which is the ground of his historical enquiry. The historical question as to the historicity of the resurrection of Jesus is thereby expanded to include the questionability of the approach to history as such. For in the historical question of the resurrection, the texts which tell of the resurrection of Jesus on being examined from a particular historical standpoint, have always a historical view of the world also brought to bear on them. This standpoint must be subjected to questioning in the process of understanding, as surely as the proclaimed resurrection of Jesus is subjected to historical questioning. However, it is generally acknowledged that historical understanding nowadays is always analogical understanding and therefore always remains within the realm of what is understandable in terms of analogy. This method of analogy in historical understanding had been ontologically grounded by E. Troeltsch in the "correlation which exists between all historical processes."<sup>59</sup> If historical understanding and historical criticism thus depend on the postulate and presupposition of a fundamental similarity underlying all events, then historical understanding and historical criticism manifestly depend on a specific view of the world. In this view of the world, much as in Greek cosmology, it is presupposed that a common core of similarity underlies all the changes and chances of history and that all things are related at heart. In terms of this core of similarity, however, the

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<sup>59</sup> E. Troeltsch, Gesammelte Schriften, 4 Vols. Tübingen, 1912-25, 2 Vol., pp. 729ff.

historical now becomes only accidental. Historical events become understandable when they are conceived of as manifestation of this common core of similarity. This, however, is to put an end to their nature as events and to abandon the historical character of history in favour of a metaphysic which sees all historical things in terms of substance.

Another possibility is that one no longer regards the historical method and its view of history as being final and inescapable in its substantive-metaphysical form, and thus veering off into the subjective decision of faith, but that one seeks new ways of developing the historical methods themselves so "that they become adequate to grasp the whole of history in all its variety."<sup>60</sup> Such an extension of the historical approach to history can have an eye to the other side of the analogical process in historical understanding. For indeed the cognitive power of a comparative understanding need not lie merely in recognizing only the similar and common elements in the middle of the dissimilarities in historical events and expressions of life, but can also be directed towards observing what is dissimilar and individual, accidental and suddenly new.<sup>61</sup> A one-sided interest in the similar, ever-recurring, typical and regular, would level down the really historical element which lies in the contingent and new, and would thus end up by losing the feeling for history altogether. The method of understanding by comparison can thus be expanded in the direction

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<sup>60</sup> R. Rendtorff, "Geschichte und Ueberlieferung", in: Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Ueberlieferungen, ed., R. Rendtorff und K. Koch, Neukirchen, 1961, p. 94. n. 39.

<sup>61</sup> cf. W. Pannenberg, "Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte", in: KerDog. 5, 1959, p. 266.



of bringing to light the incomparable, hitherto non-existent and new. To be sure, it comes to light only in the comparison. If, however, when comparing, one is to fix one's eye on the incomparable, then one must divest oneself of all hard and fast presuppositions about the core or the substance of history and must regard these ideas themselves as provisional and alterable. If, however, as compared with the historical methods that are interested in the regular and the similar, Christian theology were to manifest merely a supplementary interest in the individual, contingent and new, then that would be an interesting variant in the historical picture of history as a whole, yet one that would be possible and conceivable also without a theology of the resurrection. The rediscovery of the category of the contingent does not itself necessarily involve the discovery of a theological category; for the raising of Christ involves not only the category of the accidentally new, but the expectational category of the eschatologically new.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, to expand the historical approach to the extent of taking account of the contingent does not as yet bring the realitas of the resurrection itself into view. It is quite possible to overcome the anthropocentric form of historical analogy, but this does not necessarily give the latter a theological character.

If the modern, historical approach to history is taken as the only one that is possible, honest and binding today, then the view of the realitas and history which is presupposed by it has to be accepted as inevitable also for theological thought. This view of the realitas is then imposed upon one by one's place in history. In the society in which Christians and non-Christians live together, it is the axiom within the framework of which alone one is able to understand. If

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<sup>62</sup> cf. J. Moltmann, Theologie der Hoffnung, München, 1965, ET: Theology of Hope, London, 1967, pp. 179f.

according to this now universally binding and universally recognized view of the realitas, scientifically and historically speaking, the gods are silent - or hearing them is optional and left to the individual's discretion, - then a theology of the resurrection can be developed only at a point which is not affected by this view of the realitas and comes under the aegis of the individual's subjectivity which, however, means only in that realm of human subjectivity and inwardness which is set free by the rationalizing of the world and the historicizing of history. A theology of the resurrection can then no longer speak of facts of the resurrection, in terms of a metaphysic of history, but in terms of a metaphysic of subjectivity it can certainly still speak of an Easter faith for which the resurrection of Jesus is merely an expression of faith. In this form the resurrection faith that makes no assertions of the resurrection fits in exactly with the modern world's view of the realitas and is in a sense the ultimate religion of our society. If theology on the other hand strives to attain a theological view of history and revolution in the historical way of thinking, then there is justification for the objection that theology is thereby driven into the ghetto of an esoteric church ideology and can no longer make itself intelligible to anyone else.<sup>63</sup>

Now one can say with all assurance that the assumption from which the historical approach sets out, i.e. that the resurrection is an objectively ascertainable object of knowledge and accessible to impartial observation, is fundamentally incorrect. The resurrection of Jesus is actually not a point on the historic plane to which one could conceivably have an objective relation. The historian's way of looking at it from outside enables him at best to observe certain points at which it has entered the course of history and left its mark

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<sup>63</sup> cf. F. Mildenerberger, "Auferstanden am dritten Tag nach den Schriften", Evangel. Theol. 23, 1963, p. 275.



upon it, yet the proper interpretation of these things is denied him because he sets out from a false presupposition.

There are certainly notable relations between the resurrection of Jesus and history, but the concept of historicity cannot grasp the essence of the resurrection, and it does not surrender itself to historical criticism.

#### 1.4 Function and range of historical criticism

It would appear from the foregoing discussion that historical critical study has its own proper bounds and limits. This does not mean, however, that historical critical study has no place at all in the whole theological enterprise. Rather in spite of its limits it has its due place and one should try to make clear its proper range and function within biblical theology as a whole.

The text of the New Testament is composed of various oral traditions of the primitive church and of early Christian proclamations. Therefore, one could say that one understands and interprets it rightly only when its place in its historical context is fixed correctly. The historical context of the text should be examined at the first stage in the whole exegetical and interpretative work. It is historical critical study, historical imagination, rather than theological imagination that throws light on this subject. In order to clarify the function and range of historical criticism more precisely, perhaps one has to review the methodological progress of recent research in this field.

As is well known, literary criticism and source criticism reached a climax towards the end of the last and at the beginning of this century. At that time it was believed that the problems arising from the divergences and the agreements between the synoptic gospels could be explained by the so-called two source theory. There were hopes that it would be possible to determine the precise extent and

wording of both sources. The variety, however, in results was as great as the number of attempts. The last and the most extreme attempt at source analysis is represented by the two comprehensive volumes of Emanuel Hirsch, Die Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums.<sup>64</sup> Since the last century, one hypothesis after another has been propounded dealing with sources, strata and original documents of the synoptic gospels. Yet the synoptic tradition cannot be completely explained in this way.<sup>65</sup> The two source theory was an important step towards the solution of the problem, as is shown by its fundamental significance even in Redaction-criticism.<sup>66</sup> Its acceptance, however, without qualification and the hair-splitting subtlety of literary criticism generally could only lead into error. In searching for sources of an official nature, this theory passed across the boundary to historical criticism and its attempts to separate the sources were, at any rate, to a large extent subjective constructions.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, the judgement of Karl Ludwig Schmidt on source analysis at the beginning of this century would seem to be correct. "In this matter the persons - I mean those who took part in the research and had to work out with the greatest sagacity and in every detail a hypothesis of this kind - suffered fruitless martyrdom, and the same may be said

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<sup>64</sup> E. Hirsch, Die Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums, 2 Bde., Tübingen, 1941-51.

<sup>65</sup> cf. K.L. Schmidt, "Das Christuszeugnis der synoptischen Evangelien", EvangTheol 2, 1936, pp. 10f.

<sup>66</sup> e.g. H. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, Tübingen, 1954, ET: The Theology of St Luke, London, 1960. pp. 9-17. W.G. Kümmel, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Heidelberg, 1964, ET: Introduction to the New Testament, London, 1966, pp. 42-60, R.L. Lindsey, "A modified Two-Document Theory of the Synoptic Dependence and Interdependence", NovTest 6, 1963, pp. 239-263.

<sup>67</sup> E. Schlick, Formgeschichte und Synoptikerexegese, Münster, 1940, p. 5.



of the object which they attempted to ascertain... Nevertheless, these things had and still have a significance in that they were the means by which an inadequate method was pursued and had to be pursued ad absurdum."<sup>68</sup>

Study on the synoptic tradition had reached a dead end with Bousset's book, Kyrios Christos, and its excessive emphasis on the influence of the theology of the community. It is against this background that one can see the rise of form-critical study. Bousset was aware of the inadequacy of the literary-source criticism which had been the usual method of criticism before his time. He claimed a fresh method of research "which must above all discuss the style critically and apply itself to the study of the laws of the oral tradition."<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the development of form-criticism is due to the fact that the earlier methods had simply come to a standstill in the labyrinth of theories about sources and were not getting any further. Moreover, owing to the fact that no fresh studies could be published, the First World War brought about a constructive "pause in the discussion".<sup>70</sup>

In the literary-source criticism which preceded form-criticism the synoptic gospels and their earlier stages were both regarded as the literary achievements of individuals. Here, however, two things were apparently overlooked: first, the evangelists were the bearers of the earliest tradition: second, before the tradition was fixed in writing it was an oral tradition. It was, therefore, necessary to estimate correctly the nature of the transmission as community

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<sup>68</sup> K.L. Schmidt, "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte", in: Eucharisterion für Gunkel, II, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 125f.

<sup>69</sup> W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, Göttingen, 1913, p. 33.

<sup>70</sup> H.J. Ebeling, Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Markus-Evangelisten, Berlin, 1939, p. 48.

tradition, and at the same time consider the importance of the oral tradition and the principles of its transmission.<sup>71</sup>

Whereas the two source theory aimed to explain how the material took fixed literary form, the last process in the transmission, form-criticism raised the question as to what the material was before it was fixed in written literary form.<sup>72</sup> The object of its inquiry was thus to investigate the oral tradition which preceded the Gospels.

The individual person, such as the authors of the Gospel had been considered to be, began to move into the background. The synoptic Gospels began to be regarded as the outcome of a pre-literary work of collection, undertaken by the Christian communities. Within the synoptic Gospels the individual stories were understood to be the primary matter, and their frameworks i.e. the sketch of Jesus' life in Mark and most of the chronological statements and many of the geographical ones, to be secondary.<sup>73</sup> Thereby, a distinction began to be made between transmission and redaction.

The two source theory failed to explain many details of the agreements and divergencies between the synoptic Gospels, above all the agreements of Mark and Luke against Matthew particularly since the extent of the sayings-source, Q, remained hypothetical, because no unanimity could be reached over its scope. Form-criticism also relaxed the literary rigidity of the sources, accordingly they became "more fluid transitional stages",<sup>74</sup> and they were understood as strata

<sup>71</sup> cf. W. Michaelis, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Bern, 1946, p. 81.

<sup>72</sup> cf. K.L. Schmidt, "Formgeschichte", RGK(2), 2.col. 639.

<sup>73</sup> See, G. Bertram, "Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition", TheoBl, 1922, p. 9.

<sup>74</sup> cf. A. Jülicher-E. Fascher, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Tübingen, 1937, p. 349.



rather than as compositions.<sup>75</sup> Regarding the relationship between form-criticism and literary-criticism it might be said that the form-critical method does presuppose literary-criticism, but at the same time it sets limits to its analysis of sources. It does so by demanding knowledge of previous history in decisions about material which has been fixed in writing. It seeks to trace the content of the material back to the historical conditions in which material arose,<sup>76</sup> to determine its so called Sitz im Leben. By means of concentrating attention consistently on the individual passages, form-criticism has "cleared the way for a task suited to the manner in which the synoptic Gospels came into being and liberated us from a merely logic-chopping, scissors-and-paste method of dealing with sources".<sup>77</sup> Hence one could understand form-criticism as a reaction against and a correction of an excessive skilfulness in source-analysis.<sup>78</sup>

According to J. Rohde, the most important points of the method of form-criticism are summarized in the following way:<sup>79</sup>

- a. The synoptic Gospels are not homogeneous compositions, but collections of small units.
- b. In the pre-literary stages only small units, i.e. single stories, short groups of saying, single logia, were handed on in the oral tradition.

<sup>75</sup> cf. M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1963(4), p. 349.  
 cf. E. Fascher, Die formgeschichtliche Methode, Giessen, 1924, p. 233.  
 About the "Q" sources, see: W.G. Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 51-58.  
 cf. J.M. Robinson, "λόγοι σοφῶν", in: Zeit und Geschichte, ed., E. Dinkler, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 77-96.

<sup>76</sup> cf. E. Schick, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> A. Jülicher-E. Fascher, op. cit., p. 349.

<sup>78</sup> cf. W.G. Kümmel, op. cit., pp. 29f. W. Marxsen, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Gütersloh, 1963, pp. 112-119.

<sup>79</sup> J. Rohde, Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Methode, Hamburg, 1968, ET: Re-discovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, London, 1968, p. 5.

c. When the small units have been detached from the framework of the synoptic Gospels, characteristic genres can be recognized (short stories, paradigms, legends etc.). During their preliterate oral transmission, the individual genres had a particular Sitz im Leben in the Christian community.

d. The evangelists collected the small units and strung them together loosely to form their Gospels, the first one being Mark, the creator of the genre "Gospel". Matthew and Luke certainly used Mark, but in addition they also drew material from oral tradition (sayings material from the source Q).

e. The synoptic Gospels are not biographies in the historical sense, but testimonies to the faith of primitive Christianity.

f. The Easter faith of the community did not remain without influence on the accounts of Jesus' life. They have been fashioned under the influence of the community's theology.

Since it had been recognized that the evangelists were not only collectors and transmitters of traditional material, the Gospel as a whole began to be examined. In their work as redactors the evangelists had also to some degree to be regarded as authors in their own right. They were understood to be men who by their methods, and by arranging the material with a definite object in view and in definite contexts, were attempting to express their own theology, and more than that, the theology of a definite group and trend in primitive Christianity. Nevertheless, the resources for presenting the particular theology of each of the synoptists were modest and each had only a limited scope. Beside the grouping of the material under definite points of view and in definite contexts, it was a matter of selection, omission and inclusion of traditional material, and modification of it, which, although slight, were yet very characteristic. The method of redaction criticism, with which one is here concerned, is in principle



applicable only to the synoptic Gospels, and to the Acts of the Apostles, but not to the epistles. An exception may at the most be made for the Epistle of James. In this case scholars are beginning to abandon the extensive lack of cohesion as a principle of exegesis and to regard the Epistle as a theological whole.<sup>80</sup>

Form-criticism and redaction-history are not opposed to each other, but they differ over the subject to which they each direct their attention. The point of contact between the two investigations lies in the fact that form-criticism is also investigating the literary character of the Gospel writing as a whole. Redaction criticism, however, goes beyond the form-critical investigation of the nature and classification of the traditional material according to genres. Form-criticism did not investigate primarily the theological character and the theological conception of the existing written Gospels, it did that only marginally.<sup>81</sup> Nor does redaction criticism pose the historical question of how the events reported by the synoptists actually happened, but attempts to understand how the evangelists understood them and therefore described them.

Form-criticism regarded the Gospels from an anti-individualistic point of view. Hence it traced back to the anonymous community not only the tradition but also the formulation, the shaping and even the reshaping, and it considered the stabilization in writing merely as the completion and conclusion of the anonymous stage of the tradition.

The redaction, however, countered this natural development. Therefore it must be ascribed to an author in his own right who pursued a definite object in

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<sup>80</sup> cf. G. Braumann, "Der theologische Hintergrund des Jakobusbriefs", TheolZeit, 18, 1962.

<sup>81</sup> cf. W. Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus, Göttingen, 1959, p. 12. H. Conzelmann Die Mitte der Zeit, Tübingen, 1954, ET: The Theology of St. Luke, London, 1960, p. 10.

his labours. The existence of an author in his own right must at all costs be stressed, even if the extent of his sources, his share in shaping them, his name, his home, his fortunes could never be established with complete certainty.

Redaction criticism does not dispute the fact that the evangelists worked up anonymous traditions, but it does not attribute this work to a large number of oral transmitters, but just to an individual author in his own right. This authorship is first to be recognized in Mark, because Mark had at his disposal, except for the passion narrative and smaller collections, only an anonymous tradition. He was first to introduce the element of the individual into the formulation and shaping of the tradition and therefore his contribution in shaping it himself is greater than that of Matthew and Luke, who would already have been able to find support from precursors.

Most of the scholars who accept the redaction criticism method start with the two source theory and try to grasp the specific theory of the individual evangelist by comparing the synoptists. In contrast, Edward Schweizer in his examination of Mark's theology starts with the vocabulary of the redactional sections.<sup>82</sup>

Now, one must refer to one last point. When the theological nature of the redaction has been recognized, it follows that attention must be paid to the context within which a pericope occurs, since the position of a pericope in its context is often the earliest commentary on it. That means that in distinguishing between tradition and redaction it is important to note what traditions the evangelist takes up and how he arranges them to provide connections and make statements. Even the tradition is in the first place part of the redaction, in so far as the redaction determined what traditions were taken up.

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<sup>82</sup> E. Schweizer, "Anmerkungen zur Theologie des Markus", in: Neotestamentica et Patristica, (Suppl. NovTest. VI), Zürich, 1963, pp. 35-46.



Finally, Iber's verdict on the relationship between form-criticism and redaction-criticism may be quoted, "The contribution of the evangelist is not exhausted when he has collected the stories and sayings of Jesus current in the community. His work is more important and more impressive than this, it is a considered and astonishingly consistent literary composition and theological conception. This shows the limit of what form-criticism can contribute to the understanding of the synoptic Gospels and of what its judgement of them decisively corrects and supplements. The form critical manner of regarding the Gospels retains without any qualifications its importance for the interpretation of the synoptic Gospels. It is, however, only a first step. It must be followed by the second one which deals with the work of the evangelists and the statements of the Gospels as complete entities. It is to the credit of redaction critical works that they have demonstrated the necessity for this second step and shown the way to carry it out."<sup>83</sup>

One can say now that historical-critical study is to be used both to trace or observe the process of the traditions, the facta-dicta which precede the text, and to investigate the text itself in order to understand the evangelists' intentions. The function and range of historical criticism of the Easter event, therefore, is not to investigate the problem of the historicity of the Event itself, but rather to ask questions about the meaning of the facta-dicta in their own historical context with regard to its full historicity, so that one can have some clues to investigate and thus interpret the entity of the dynamic movement of the process lying between facta and dicta, the realitas of the message of the text.

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<sup>83</sup> G. Iber, "Zur Formgeschichte der Evangelien", TheolRund, NF 24, 1957-58, pp. 283-338. p. 338.

### 1.5 Theological interpretation and historical critical study

It is taken for granted by many theologians that a theological interpretation must be appropriate both to faith and the categories of understanding which belong to man as man.<sup>84</sup> If this be allowed, it is not immediately plain how historical criticism, which we discussed in the former section, can be of service in aiding the event of the word of God, i.e. the proclamation. This is the question of how historical criticism can be taken up into the theological task in such a way that it does not lose its independent critical powers but nevertheless functions positively in the service of theology. The problem of interpretation can be posed as the question of how the word that has come to expression can come to expression anew.

With regard to this problem, H. Oberman's words are well known: "It (the ongoing effort to translate the Scriptures) unfolds under the abiding tension of a dual freedom: the freedom obediently to conform to the apostolic witness, and the freedom creatively to translate that witness for the experiences and thought patterns of successive generations. This is a task of freedom because it is the Holy Spirit who leads the Church into new responses to the unique historic revelation in Christ."<sup>85</sup>

The text, from the first, cannot speak itself if it is not exegeted in its own historical context, and it cannot be interpreted if it cannot be brought into intimate relation with contemporary modes of thought and experience. As a defence against this threat G. Ebeling has set out a series of propositions concerning the

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<sup>84</sup> G. Ebeling, Wort und Glaube, Tübingen, 1960, ET: Word and Faith, London, 1963 pp. 84f.

<sup>85</sup> H. Oberman, Christianity Divided, ed., by D.J. Callahan, H. Oberman, and D.L. O'Hanlon, London, 1962, pp. 76f.



function of the Bible in theological work. One may quote a portion of proposition 7: "Criticism is an integral element in the effort to understand the text. It is directed to that which the biblical text wants to bring to understanding and against anything and everything that stands as a hindrance in the way of the hermeneutical function of the text."<sup>86</sup> As one understands it, the two sides of criticism correspond to the dual freedom of faith (Oberman): The possibility of obedience depends on the disclosure which the text intends to bring to understanding, and creative translation (interpretation) depends on the effective interpretation of the text. It is clear that these two sides are mutually interrelated and form a circle. Its circular movement is thus a constitutive element in the programme of theological interpretation.

However, historical criticism is the means of gaining authentic access to the original intention of the text. This means that historical criticism is designed to preserve the distance between text and interpreter. As commonly understood this means reading the text in its own context, with regard for its full historicity. Namely, historical criticism has to do with observing the development and process of tradition.

Therefore historical criticism expresses the word of God as a fully human word by exposing the human situation into which it is received as radically human.

Under the aegis of its presupposition, however, that history is a closed unity and prompted by its methodological aim not to presuppose its results, historical criticism is in itself in a sense blind. It is blind in that it strives for objectivity. It questions all human achievement by exposing it as enmeshed in the skein of natural, social and psychological causes. This blindness is

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<sup>86</sup> G. Ebeling, op. cit., p. 428.

characterised also by disinterestedness, which means that the question of the theological meaning of an event or document for the present is not the first order of business. Its blindness, therefore, stands in conscious opposition to the historicity of the historian, and makes it possible for the critic to take his historical work seriously. The virtue in this blindness is not to be overlooked. By means of historical criticism, an opening occurs for a new hearing of the text, and the intention of the text is disclosed. Such an opening occurs only at the point where the function of historical criticism is related to the hearing. It is this dialectic of letting be and hearing which brings historical criticism to its fulfilment.

Therefore, it is essentially correct to insist that the function of historical criticism is to let the text speak for itself. To let the text speak for itself, however, means to let it speak critically with reference to any and every appropriation of the text and, ultimately, with reference to the present grasp of the text. With this observation one might say that, if historical criticism is to be relevant to the theological task, it must relate itself critically to its own history and to the current situation in the Church and theology. For to be theologically relevant means to stand in critical relation to the theological appropriation of the text which is either implicit or explicit in the tradition to which the interpreter belongs. Bringing historical criticism into relation to the current situation will not make it less critical but more critical, for the reason that its work achieves relevance. If participation of historical criticism in the contemporary theological debate is viewed as a threat to its freedom, it is a danger that is no more apparent than its continued opposition to old orthodoxy and fundamentalism and its naïve service to outmoded theological presuppositions.



In the past, historical criticism has often come to be understood in negative terms in spite of many protests to the contrary. Historical criticism has developed a splendid isolation from the other theological disciplines. It proceeds as an independent scientific discipline concerned with a particular segment of the past, developing and utilizing specialized tools appropriate to its subject matter. It proposes to guard its integrity by working strictly along literary and historical lines, which are taken to "bracket out" the concern of theology to articulate the meaning of the gospel for the present age. For this reason historical criticism has become, to a degree, an anomaly in the theological curriculum. Nevertheless historical criticism can be understood positively. For first of all, biblical theology presupposes historical critical study of the text. The exegete of the New Testament has to know, for instance, whether the text upon which he works represents the original text of the autographs, or the textual form of the fourth century. His work also presupposes knowledge of the historical background of the author, the document, tradition, Sitz im Leben, and subject matter. It is one of the great lessons of modern historical critical research to teach one that one is apt to miss completely the understanding of the original content of tradition when one disregards the differences between its age and ours. The exegete is expected also to have an extensive knowledge of the history of the language, its idioms, and above all, the specific terminology of the document. However, interesting as these philological and historical studies are, they are but subsidiary to biblical theology, "Hilfswissenschaften". It is, however, the content of the text that biblical theology is to mediate to the readers, not simply its circumstances. Therefore, historical criticism might be understood more positively in view of the hermeneutical circle as the discipline which by providing authentic access to the text and by seeking to add

relevant questions to the text, issues in biblical theology.

Biblical theology is the exercise of content criticism in relation to the variety of ways in which the kerygma comes to expression with reference to the norm implicit in Scripture itself. Biblical theology understood in this way could assume an initiating role in the whole theological task. For biblical theology as content criticism is directly related to hearing the word anew, and this means that the norm implicit in Scripture has to be grasped ~~ever~~ anew in relation to the unfolding situation. The text cannot be heard anew unless the text is exegeted faithfully in response to questions conceived historically. Moreover, the text cannot be heard anew unless the questions brought to the text are submitted to the probing criticism of the text. Therefore, historical criticism produces modes of interrogation from a historical locus which are submitted to the probing criticism of the text from its own locus. In this dialectic it is polarizing the historicity of the interpreter and the historicity of the text. The polarization comes and amounts to the exposition: The interpreter hears what is "heard" and articulated in the text. The function of the dialectic or hermeneutical circle, therefore, is to create an opening for a fresh hearing of the text, and such an opening permits the text to function hermeneutically, that is, to come to understanding anew.

Biblical theology as content criticism participates in this same dialectic or hermeneutical circle. The norm implicit in Scripture is self-evidently not something which can be laid hold of and reduced to a verbal formulation valid for all time. If the radical historicity of the word is taken into account, it would have to be said that laying hold of the word in an effort to fix it is precisely what robs it of its potential as the word of grace. For this reason the task of historical criticism is to expose the historicity of both the text



and the interpreter who is striving to hear anew. In so doing it creates an opening. One could say that such an opening is a removal of hindrances to understanding.<sup>87</sup>

From the discussion so far some light may perhaps have been shed on the question of the method of our study. To fulfil our task, namely an investigation of the Easter texts in the New Testament, with particular reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15, tradition history and redaction history (exclusively for the Synoptic Gospels) will be the chief methods used. By these means, we attempt to clarify various problems concerning the traditions preceding the texts and the texts themselves in each particular historical context. We also engage in criticism of their theological contents, in so far as the text challenges us to hear, to examine its content and to assess it. In this sense, our study is not only historical, but also theological. Thereby, we try to explicate the historical and theological significance of a wealth of different interpretations of the Easter event in primitive Christianity, interpretations which constantly replace each other, combine with each other and undergo mutual delimitation.

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<sup>87</sup> Concerning the logical structure of understanding see the concluding chapter.

## SECTION II

### A STUDY OF PAULINE EASTER TEXTS

#### Chapter 2 The Vision of Paul

In Jesus and Christian Origins,<sup>1</sup> Professor H. Anderson, very properly observes that: "In all the Easter texts there is scarcely any more significant fact than that Paul is able to tie in his own experience of the risen Christ with the encounters of the first disciples." ("Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me." (1 Cor 15.8) ). For, here, perhaps, one is offered a clue to solving the question, how in fact the unusual experience which was vouchsafed to Paul, whose Sitz im Leben was different in many ways from those of the first disciples, could lead to the certainty that Jesus had been raised. If Paul's unusual experience was the sole means by which Easter certainty came into being for him, how was it possible, what was the reason, and what factors were at work, for his experience to have led to such a certainty? Hence, one must investigate the meanings of the passages in which Paul explicitly mentions what happened to him.

One should not, however, follow the common practice of making central Paul's own personal experience and, specifically, Christ's appearance to him. This practice is based partly on the vision on the way to Damascus, which is repeatedly described at length in Acts and partly on the influence of pietistic tradition and modern psychology. For "we do best to keep our feet firmly on the ground, take our lead from what Paul himself says, and not let ourselves be sidetracked from what for him was the heart of the matter."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> G. Bornkamm, Paulus, Stuttgart, 1969, ET: Paul, London, 1971, p. 16.



## 2.1 Materials

Paul mentions his unusual experience only in a few verses in his Epistles. The first material might be the threefold report of the conversion in Acts: Ac 9.1-19, 22.3-16 and 26.4-18. Some scholars<sup>3</sup> consider, however, that these reports in Acts are doubtful as a source, since they are legendary.

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding Fr. Smend's opinion of the problem ("Untersuchungen zu den Acta-Darstellungen von der Bekehrung des Paulus", Angelos I, 1925, pp. 34-35) R. Bultmann ("Neueste Paulusforschung", TheolRund, 1934, pp. 229ff.) writes (p. 231.): "Smend zeigt, z.T. in Anlehnung an früher Gesagtes, dass in den Berichten der Act, der literarischen Bildung des Verfassers entsprechend, Motive verwendet sind, die der antiken und hellenistischen Literatur entnommen sind."

Regarding H. Windisch's opinion of the problem ("Die Christusepiphanie vor Damaskus (Act 9.22 u.26.) und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen", ZeitNTWiss, 31, 1932, pp. 1-23.) R. Bultmann says (op. cit., p. 231.): "H. Windisch hat in einem Aufsatz über die Christusepiphanie vor Damaskus und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Parallelen Smends Untersuchungen noch weiter geführt mit dem Ergebnis, dass der Erzähler der Act die Einzelheiten der Bekehrungsgeschichte, für die er keine feste Ueberlieferung besass, nach literarischen Motiven ausgestaltet habe, wie er sie nicht nur in der alttestamentlichen Saul-David-Geschichte, sondern auch in der griechischen Tradition fand; besonders weist Windisch auf die Heliodor-Geschichte (II Makk 3) als auf eine auffallende Parallele hin. Auch er ist übrigens geneigt, das Wort vom κέντρον als Uebernahme aus Euripides zu erklären, zumal das die Bakchen beherrschende Motiv des θεόραχος auch sonst in Act verwertet ist. Mir scheint freilich, dass Kummel recht hat, die Entlehnung des κέντρον -Wortes aus Euripides zu bezweifeln."

E. Hirsch refuted the "Skepsis". R. Bultmann writes (op. cit., pp. 232f.): "Zwar der Bericht Act 9 sei eine legendarische Erzählung, die sich in Damaskus gebildet habe: der Verfasser habe sie in c.22 in eine Rede des Paulus umgesetzt, dabei schon beeinflusst durch den in c. 26. verwendeten Bericht, der auf die eigene Erzählung des Paulus zurückgehe. Das wird, meint Hirsch, bewiesen durch den Widerspruch des Berichtes in c.26 zu dem in c.9 und durch einige Einzelheiten des Berichtes in c.26. Von diesen sei entscheidend eben jenes Wort vom λακτίζειν πρὸς κέντρον. "Es belegt unwidersprechlich, dass Pauli Verfolgung der Gemeinde einen inneren leidenschaftlichen Kampf gegen die ihn greifende Gewalt der neuen Verkündigung zur Entsprechung hatte." Das scheint mir - von anderen Bedenken gegen Hirsch abgesehen - ein Grundirrtum zu sein. .... Hirsch mag allein darin recht haben, dass dem Verfasser der Act zwei verschiedene Traditionen über die Bekehrung des Paulus vorlagen, wenngleich Kummel gezeigt hat, dass man sehr wohl die drei Berichte der Act als schriftstellerische

Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the experience of the conversion of Paul and to interpret these reports in psychological terms.<sup>4</sup>

However, attempted reconstructions of the experience of the conversion are useless, as the sources simply are not there. Although Paul experiences Jesus

### 3 (contd.)

Variationen ein und derselben Tradition verstehen kann. Jedenfalls sehe ich kein Recht zu der Annahme, dass der in c.26 gegebene Bericht auf Paulus selbst zurückgehe, wenn auch der neueste Erklärer der Act, H.W. Beyer, Hirschs Hypothese akzeptiert."

See also: U. Wilckens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem", ZeitTheolKir, 56, 1959, p. 273: "Die kritisch-historische Forschung hat sich darum von jeher bemüht, durch das reich und voll ausgestaltete Bild nachpaulinisch-kirchlicher Legenden hindurch das wirklich Geschehene zu Gesicht zu bekommen."

Also see, H. Conzelmann, Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments, München, 1967. ET: An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1969. pp. 162ff.

- 4 Regarding R. Liechtenhan's opinion of the problem (Paulus, Seine Welt und sein Werk, Basel, Reinhardt, 1928) R. Bultmann (op. cit., p. 232.) says: "Die Vorliebe für eine psychologische Ausdeutung von Act 26.14 beruht auf dem offenbar unaustilgbaren Verlangen, die Bekehrung des Paulus als einen Vorgang seiner seelischen Entwicklung fassen zu können, wie es z. B. R. Liechtenhan wieder versucht. In diesem Sinne wird immer noch gerne Röm 7 als biographisches Dokument interpretiert, trotz des mehrfach, besonders von W. Heitmüller, dagegen erhobenen Widerspruchs."

See also: H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 162ff.

Regarding W. Kümmel's opinion of the problem (Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus, Leipzig, 1929) R. Bultmann writes (op. cit., p. 233.): "Kümmel zeigt zunächst, dass in Röm 7 nicht die Situation des Gerechtfertigten dargestellt ist (wie die frühere Exegese unter dem Einfluss des späteren Augustin und Luthers weithin meinte), sondern die des unter dem Gesetz Stehenden. Sodann -- was für unseren Zusammenhang das Wesentliche ist --, dass in Röm 7 nicht das individuelle persönliche Erleben des Paulus seinen Ausdruck findet, sondern dass die Ausführungen allgemeinen systematischen Charakter haben: d.h. das Ich von Röm 7.7ff. ist nicht das individuelle Ich des Paulus, vielmehr ist die Ich-Schilderung die rhetorische Form, in der Paulus die Situation des Juden unter dem Gesetz darstellt, und zwar so, wie sie ihm erst jetzt vom christlichen Glauben aus durchsichtig geworden ist."

Regarding G.P. Wetter's argument ("Die Damaskusvision und das paulinische Evangelium", Festgabe f. Ad. Jülicher, ed., R. Bultmann-H.v. Soden, pp. 80-92, Tübingen, 1927.) R. Bultmann writes (op. cit., p. 233): "Den Versuchen einer Rekonstruktion der Bekehrung des Paulus und ihrer Ausdeutung für die



in visions, he does not himself make use of them (2 Cor 12), and so he never speaks of the inner event of his conversion but only of its theological content, i.e. his commission to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4 (contd.)

psychologische Erkenntnis der Entstehung seiner Frömmigkeit und Theologie tritt G.P. Wetter entgegen mit der Behauptung, dass die sonst auf die Bekehrung bezogenen Stellen Gal 1.12ff., 1 Kor 15.8, 9.1 gar nicht von dieser, sondern von dem visionären Verkehr des Paulus mit dem erhöhten Herrn überhaupt reden, einem Verkehr, der mit der Bekehrungsvision nur seinen Anfang genommen hat."

<sup>5</sup> Regarding R. Steiger's argument (Die Dialektik der paulinischen Existenz, Leipzig, 1931.) R. Bultmann writes (op. cit., p. 234): "Er will ihren Sinn aus dem Vergleich der Struktur der spätjüdischen mit der paulinischen Frömmigkeit gewinnen, der Uebergang von der einen zur anderen ist ja die Bekehrung. So sinnvoll diese Absicht ist, so schematisch ihre Ausführung. Für die jüdische Frömmigkeit sind nach Steiger zwei Momente konstitutiv: Gesetz und Eschatologie, das Gesetz beherrscht das Leben der Gegenwart, die Eschatologie ist der Gegenstand der Zukunftsphantasien. Gegenwart und eschatologische Zukunft sind radikal getrennt, und der Jude lebt in der undialektischen Existenz des Entweder-Oder, in der starren Form der statischen Gesetzmäßigkeit. Die Existenz in diesem Entweder-Oder wird durch die christliche Botschaft, dass Jesus der Messias sei, in Frage gestellt, da mit ihr der Hereinbruch der Zukunft in die Gegenwart behauptet wird, und die Bekehrung des Paulus besteht darin, dass die statisch ungerbrochene Existenz des Pharisäers zusammenbricht und die dynamisch dialektisch gebrochene Existenz des Apostels entsteht. .... 'Sie steht der Zukunft des messianisch vollendeten Reiches nicht mehr als bloße Negativität gegenüber, sondern als der Anbruch dieses Reiches selbst' (s. 32). ... Wenn also Steiger die Bekehrung als 'Dialektischen Prozess zwischen dem alten und dem neuen Leben' (s. 30) oder als den 'Einbruch der Dialektik in die pharisäische Existenz' (s. 33) bezeichnet, so ist nichts verstanden, sondern die Sache hat nur einen schön klingenden Namen erhalten. Steiger kommt denn auch nicht ohne die Psychologie aus: Paulus hat bei Damaskus in der 'paroxysmellen Uebersteigerung seines Zelotismus' einen epileptischen Anfall - und zwar wohl den ersten - erlitten (s. 112). Um so weniger ist verstanden, als auch die schematische Schilderung der jüdischen Frömmigkeitsstruktur falsch ist; als hätte es für den frommen Juden keine Bestimmtheit der Gegenwart durch die Zukunft und also keine positive Bedeutung der Gegenwart gegeben."

Regarding O. Kietzig's opinion about "die Bekehrung des Paulus als einem religionsgeschichtlichen und religionspsychologischen Problem" (Die Bekehrung des Paulus, Leipzig, 1932) R. Bultmann writes (op. cit., p. 236): "... er (Kietzig) will nämlich durch eine Analyse der persönlichen Religion des Paulus (er nennt sie: seine 'Kultform') sein Grunderlebnis herausarbeiten .... So richtig es nun erscheint, die Bekehrung des Paulus nicht aus dem zu rekonstruieren, was (für uns unerkennbar) vor ihr liegt, sondern sie aus dem zu verstehen, was als ihr Ergebnis ihr folgt, so wenig hat Kietzig seinen

Therefore, our essential sources are only three reports: 1 Cor 15. 8ff. Ga 1.11ff. and Php 3.4ff.

## 2.2 ὥφθη

In 1 Cor 15.5ff. Paul says: *ὅτε ὥφθη Κηφᾶ .... ὥφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίους ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ .... ὥφθη Ἰακώβω .... ὥφθη κἀμοί*

The meaning of the term, *ὥφθη*, here is "ein von Gott her eröffnetes, exzeptionell-einmaliges Sehen".<sup>6</sup> The same expressions are found in Lk 24.34:

*ὥφθη Σίμωνι*, Ac 13.31: *ὅς ὥφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῦς συναναβᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Παλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ....*

and Ac 26.16: *εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὥφθην σοι*, (cf. Ac 9.17: *Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθεῖς σοι*).

The meaning of *ὥφθη* is not passive, "he was seen", but "he appeared". This sort of usage of the term, *ὥφθη*, is obvious in the LXX. For instance, Gn 1.9:

*.... καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά .... καὶ ὥφθη ἡ ξηρά.*

## 5 (contd.)

Grundgedanken klar durchgeführt. Was aus den Aussagen des Paulus deutlich wird, ist ja nicht ein Bild von der Bekehrung als einem seelischen Erlebnis, sondern der Sinn der Bekehrung als des Schrittes aus dem glaubenslosen in das gläubige Sein... Von seinem psychologischen Interesse aus bezeichnet der Verfasser als die 'persönliche Kultform' des Paulus die Leidensgemeinschaft mit dem Gekreuzigten, der als gegenwärtige Macht erfahren wird."

cf. U. Wilckens, *op. cit.*, p. 274: "Ob man sich so entweder dazu entschloss, eben diesen Befund als Dokumentation des Wundercharakters dieser Bekehrung auszuwerten, oder ob man sich getraute, die schweigenden Texte unter Zuhilfenahme allgemeiner - besonders psychologischer - Erwägungen und Methoden doch noch zum Reden zu bringen: weder auf der einen noch auf der anderen Seite hat man ein überzeugendes Bild dieser theologisch so auffallend radikalen Konversion erstellen können."

<sup>6</sup> U. Wilckens, *op. cit.*, p. 274.



- Here *ῥαβη* is used in connection with the command of God to let the dry land appear.<sup>7</sup> Gn 8.5: *ῥαβησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ὀρέων.*

- Here *ῥαβη* is used as a word to mean that the peak of the mountain was seen.<sup>8</sup>

2 Sm 17.17: .... ὅτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ὀφθῆναι τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν  
εἰς τὴν πόλιν

Ex 23.15: οὐκ ὀφθήσῃ ἐνώπιόν μου κενός.

23.17: .... ὀφθήσεται πᾶν ἀρσενικόν σου ....

34.3: .... ὀφθήτω ἐν παντὶ τῷ ὄρει.

34.20: .... οὐκ ὀφθήσῃ ἐνώπιόν μου κενός

34.23: .... ὀφθήσεται πᾶν ἀρσενικόν ....

Dt 16.16: .... ὀφθήσεται πᾶν ἀρσενικόν ....

- In certain legal rules, *ῥαβη* is used as a term to convey the meaning of believers' coming or appearance in the presence of God.<sup>9</sup>

What is not to be overlooked, however, is that in the LXX *ῥαβη* is used as a term based on the idea of revelation, of which the centre is God, and means

<sup>7</sup> K.H. Rengstorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, Luther-Verlag, 1952, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup> K.H. Rengstorf, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> K.H. Rengstorf, *op. cit.*, p. 120: "Das ist ein Sprachgebrauch, der deshalb seinen guten Sinn hat, weil sich im Erscheinen an der Kultstätte die gottesdienstliche Gemeinde konkretisiert. Vor allem aber wird *ῥαβη* an zahlreichen Stellen von der Erscheinung Gottes oder auch seiner Herrlichkeit, *δύναμις*, oder auch seines Engels gebraucht: dabei ist die Vorstellung immer auch die, dass in solcher Erscheinung etwas sichtbar wird, was zuvor wohl da, aber eben nicht wahrnehmbar, sondern verborgen war." cf. W. Michaelis, *ThW V*, pp. 258ff. The concept of revelation and the concept of theophany are different. The latter (theophany) is always tied up with anthropomorphism. Concerning this problem see: L. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 92: "Dagegen finden sich in Struktur und Begrifflichkeit Berührungen mit den Theophanien, in denen Gott in anthropomorpher Weise dem Hörenden und Sehenden zum Heil wahrnehmbar wird." Also see, J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament", in: *Supplement to Vetus Testamentum*, VII, 1960, pp. 31-38.

the self-presentation (Selbstdarbietung) of God to the community<sup>10</sup> (e.g. Gn 12.7, 17.1, 26.2, 35.9).

The same sort of usage of the term, ὥφθῃ, is taken over into the New Testament,<sup>11</sup> e.g. Stephen's speech in Ac 7.2 (cf. 7.30-35).

- <sup>10</sup> ὥφθῃ in the prophetic books in the Old Testament is very rare. See: K.H. Rengstorff, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Concerning rabbinic usage of the term, ὥφθῃ, see: K.H. Rengstorff, *op. cit.*, pp. 121f. Rengstorff tends to think rabbinic usage of the term, ὥφθῃ, as a background of 1 Cor 15.3ff. p. 119: "Bei dem urchristlich-palästinischen Charakter der Tradition, die Paulus in 1 Kor 15.3ff. übernommen hat, und bei der Rolle, die ὥφθῃ in ihr spielt, muss dabei dem rabbinischen Sprachgebrauch besondere Bedeutung beiliegen."
- <sup>11</sup> In the confessional list in 1 Cor 15.3ff., which is taken over from the primitive community, Paul also uses ὥφθῃ (in such a way that Χριστός can remain the subject) for the various appearances. In 15.8 Paul does not adopt an active formulation as in 9.1. For this use of ὥφθῃ in the NT may be found with reference to the resurrection appearances at Lk 24.34, Act 9.17, 13.31, 26.16 and with reference to angelophanies at Lk 1.11 (cf. 24.43). But, as attested in the NT at Ac 7.2, 30, 35 it already has great significance in the LXX, and indeed in such a way that ὥφθῃ or ὁφθῆναι is terminology for the presence of revelation as such without reference to the nature of its perception (see: ThW V. p. 327), or to the presence of the God who reveals himself in his word (see: ThW V. p. 333). It thus seems that when ὥφθῃ is used as a term to denote the resurrection appearance there is no primary emphasis on seeing as sensual or mental perception. The dominant thought is that the appearances are revelations, encounters with the risen Lord who herein reveals himself, or is revealed (cf. Ga 1.16). The distinctive intr. pass (see: ThW V. p. 316), is thus of even stronger theological relevance than in the OT. The relation of ὥφθῃ in 1 Cor 15.5ff. to the active of 9.1 does not involve a simple replacing of the active by the corresponding passive form. If so, the significance attached to seeing would be the same in both instances. The important point about ὥφθῃ with the dative, however, is that the one who constitutes the subject is the one who acts, i.e. appears, shows himself, with no special emphasis on the resultant action of the person in the dative, namely, that he sees or perceives. ὥφθῃ κηρῶ etc. does not mean in the first instance that they saw him, with an emphasis on seeing, e.g. in contrast to hearing. It means rather παρέστησεν αὐτὸν ζῶντα (cf. Ac 1.3), or even better: ὁ θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν αὐτὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς (Gal 1.16). He encountered them as the risen, living Lord, they experienced his presence. In the last resort even active forms like ἐώρακα 1 Cor 9.1 mean the same thing. Since this is the guiding thought, the question of the way in which he could be perceived is notably neutralised or subordinated to theological evaluation, so that it cannot be answered correctly whether the supremacy of the thought that the appearances are revelation is thereby





Therefore, it is clear *ᾠφθ* in 1 Cor 15.8 implies neither a historical occurrence that was experienced by eye witnesses, nor an observation of the dead, but designates a revelation of God. The usage and content of this *ᾠφθ* does not invite one to any modern psychiatric or clinical approach.<sup>12</sup>

11 (contd.)

prejudiced. This view, which is that of Michaelis (Die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen, Basel, 1944, pp. 103-109) is resolutely opposed by M. Barth (Der Augenzeuge, Zürich, 1946, p. 298, n. 58, p. 310, n. 140, p. 317, n. 185). He for his part accepts the "sensually real significance of the biblical statements" (p. 318, n. 185). His report is that those to whom the appearances came experienced a "miracle of seeing". They were singled out from the human race. The seeing of the witness of the appearances is to be understood as a gift and work of Jesus Christ. The question arises, however, whether this is sensually real seeing. Again, can one list this ability to see the risen Lord (Lk 24.31) with the power of sight given to the blind when they were healed, or to Paul when his sight was restored in Ac 9.18? It is legitimate to call the appearances a miracle. But the New Testament teaches us to seek the miracle more on the side of the appearing of the risen Lord than on that of the seeing of the witness. There is no need for us to engage in full debate with M. Barth. See also E. Käsemann, "Der Augenzeuge", TheoLitZeit, 73, 1948 pp. 665-670.

12 Concerning the psychological approach, the following points argued by W. Marxsen are particularly worthy of note ("The Resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968. See also, H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, pp. 201ff.).

A hypothesis of a subjective vision (cf. D.F. Strauss, Life of Jesus, London, 1874.) is meant to transfer the visions into the disciples' hearts and minds. However, Marxsen properly observes that, although the possibility of such an explanation cannot be excluded, yet it cannot in any way be proved. If one accepts it, one shall at once be thrown back into the description by those who narrate the visions exactly as something that happened and thus clearly offer another explanation themselves. One simply does not get any further than the statement that the seeing has been claimed as something which took place. If one goes beyond this one is making a synthesis, yet without being able to appeal to any text. (W. Marxsen, op. cit., pp. 28f.).

12 (contd.)

Marxsen emphasized this also against the hypothesis of an objective vision, such as has recently been argued, for example, by H. Grass (op. cit.). Grass calls this hypothesis a "theological and not a historical one" (op. cit., p. 248). In Marxsen's mind, however, what is unfortunate in Grass' train of thought is the fact that Grass arrives by way of "faith" at a statement about something like events. Grass says: "Theological considerations must hold to the fact that as regards the experiences of the disciples by whatever means they are thought to have been communicated, we are concerned with God's action on them and not merely with the productions of their own imagination or reflection." (p. 243.) But Marxsen argues that "However, can we also by theological considerations come to speak of God's action? Surely not. Then what are we considering? Surely not the events themselves, but interpreted descriptions of what happened at the seeing. Grass is simply establishing a false relationship here by omitting the description and wishing to be guided directly by the events themselves. But since no one in the present day witnessed these visions, how can a believer in the present day 'see God's action in the visions of the disciples' (p. 244.)?" (op. cit., p. 29)

Grass admits that visionary experiences are ambiguous, and he may be right in saying that faith alone prevails over ambiguity (p. 244.). However, present day faith cannot overcome the ambiguity in visionary experiences of those days. Grass writes that "It is to God's action in relation to Christ before all his action in relation to the apostolic witness and before all his action in relation to us through the witness of his witnesses, action which thereafter is the foundation of the Church's preaching, that we must hold fast." (p. 246) In regard to Grass' statement Marxsen argues that "Is not the process of seeing being examined here carried out in reference to its presupposition which is supposed to be God's action? But faith must hold fast to this supposition, even though 'God's action with regard to Christ at Easter in the last resort withdraws itself from that possibility of being checked and stated objectively which might establish and verify the event even apart from faith.' (p. 246.) Thus the event which preceded the happening is accessible to faith." (op. cit., p. 30.)

One must ask how can one's faith achieve this certainty with regard to the event? How can one believe that "in the case of the vision there was no self-deception on the part of the disciples to be explained by presuppositions of their own, but that God acted here and did not leave Christ to die, but restored him to life..." (p. 249)? Marxsen observes properly as follows (op. cit., p. 30) "In the case of the subjective-vision hypothesis it is the disciples who, so to speak, create the vision by their faith: on the other hand, in the case of the objective-vision hypothesis it is the faith of today which relies on objective visions. Thus the so-called objective-vision theory examined closely is a subjective one too, i.e. it is derived from our own faith. But it is always a matter of synthesis which attempts to penetrate into a sphere lying beyond



Rather it is the very term employed by the LXX to tell of heavenly appearances, epiphanies which tell of something breaking in from the side of heaven. In this sense, this ὥφθη must be sharply differentiated from the other later visions where Paul again makes use of the term ὥφθη, e.g. 2 Cor 12.1ff. The meaning of ἑώρακα in 1 Cor 9.1: οὐκ ἴησούν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα, might be understood simply as "seeing". However, ὥφθη in 1 Cor 15.8 is passive in its grammatical form, for God effects the vision. This involves a revelation of God, as Paul emphasizes twice in Ga 1.12, 15.<sup>13</sup>

However, the important thing is that, when Paul says ὥφθη καί μοι it follows from the context that he who has been revealed to Paul is regarded as the one who has risen, and whom he has to preach as an apostle like "the others". The preaching of the rising of Christ as an act of God, exercised upon Jesus who was dead, is confirmed by the appearances, which can be specified, of Christ. There is no doubt that this is the function of the list of witnesses (vv. 5-8) in the context of the argument in 1 Cor 15.

### 2.3 Galatians 1.11ff.

The reason why Paul describes his experience as a "seeing of the risen one" might be not that he intended to express the superiority of his experience, the excellence of his unusual conversion to Christian faith, but rather that he understood it as his calling to apostleship. This means, Paul does not speak of

#### 12 (contd.)

the range of the statements of the first witnesses. At the same time the interpretation given by the disciples of what happened to them is usually quietly turned into history. Therefore, it is not advisable to proceed along this road."

<sup>13</sup> See U. Wilckens, *op. cit.*, p. 274, and also "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen; Zur traditions-geschichtlichen Analyse von 1 Kor 15.1-11", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, pp. 37-81. cf. L. Goppelt, Christologie und Ethik, Göttingen, 1968, pp. 79ff.

the Damascus experience from a biographical point of view, but he speaks about his calling as Apostle to the Gentiles from the theological point of view. It is decisive for the primitive Christian understanding of "Apostle" that every apostle is able to refer concerning his calling and authority to a personal appearance of the risen one.<sup>14</sup> From 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians one can understand that Paul's apostleship was disputed by people in the primitive church. They argued that Paul did not have an experience of the appearance of the risen one as the great Jerusalem apostles had had, but that like other Gentile Christians he had merely received the Christian Gospel through the apostolic Church traditions. Against this Paul protests: "For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man's gospel. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ." (Ga 1.11f. cf. Ga 1.1, 15ff.)

The appearance of the risen one, that is designated by the stereotyped term *ὡφθῆ*, in 1 Cor 15.5ff., is expressed by *ἀποκαλύπτειν* in Gal 1.15f.<sup>15</sup> God

<sup>14</sup> cf. H.v. Campenhausen, "Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff", *StudTheol*, 1, 1948 pp. 96-130. See also: K.H. Rengstorff, *ThW*, I, pp. 431ff.

<sup>15</sup> See: H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, Meyerk, Göttingen, 1951, p. 20: "*Ἀποκάλυψις* (*ἀποκαλύπτειν*)", das eine theologische Bedeutung erst in LXX gewonnen hat, ist schon in seinem hellenistischen Gebrauch Komplementärwort zu *μυστήριον*. Bei Paulus dient es zur Bezeichnung des Offenbarmachens eines der Welt und ihrer natürlichen Erfahrung radikal verborgenen und deshalb unzugänglichen Sachverhaltes, wie sich am deutlichsten aus 1 Kor 2.7ff. erkennen lässt. Die 'Enthüllung Jesu Christi' findet in dreierlei Weise statt: 1. als eschatologische, 1 Kor. 1.7 II These 1.7 (vgl. 1 Pt 1.7, 13, 4.13), im Zusammenhang und mit der Folge anderer eschatologischer Ereignisse, Röm 2.5, 8.18ff. 1 Kor 3.13 (vgl. 1 Pt 1.5, 5.1) II Tess 2.3, 6, 8. 2. Als apostolische, wie an unserer Stelle, Gal 1.16 Eph 3.3, 5, Röm 16.25 (vgl. Gal 3.25). Diese ist als eine Antizipation des eschatologischen Ereignisses zu verstehen. 3. Als charismatische oder mystische, die in göttlichen Einzelenthüllungen an den Charismatiker besteht, und sich, wenn nicht auf den *kyrios* selbst, so auf das Leben im Herrn bezieht, vgl. 1 Kor 14.6, 26, 30 Eph 1.17 Gal 2.2 Phil 3.15 II Kor 12.1, 7 (I Pt 1.12). Diese Enthüllungen geschehen, wie alle charismatischen Akte, auf dem Boden und in den Grenzen der apostolischen *ἀποκάλυψις*."



15 (contd.)

The term, ἀποκάλυψις, in Gal 1.15 is rooted in "früh-jüdisch-apokalyptischen Tradition". See: O. Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, Tübingen, 1960. U. Wilckens writes (op. cit., pp. 84f.): "Hier herrscht die Grundvorstellung, dass die letzte, letztgültige und zuletzt und ewig währende Wirklichkeit alles Geschehens in den im Himmel befindlichen, in der gegenwärtigen, voreschatologischen Weltzeit noch "verborgen" gehaltenen "Geheimnissen" Gottes beruhe.... Erst wenn diese Geheimnisse von Gott enthüllt und zur universalen Wirkung gebracht sein werden, wird allgemein erkennbar und unausweichlich erfahrbar sein, was jetzt schon im Verborgenen und im Grunde bereits von Urbeginn an wahrhaft wirklich ist.... Aber was in diesem Sinne als Endgeschehen im Himmel verborgen und in der Zukunft aufbewahrt ist, kann Gott in ausserordentlichen Enthüllungen einzelnen, besonders auserkorenen Männern in Israel über die Erkenntnisbegrenztheit der Menschen in voreschatologischer Zeit hinweg zu besonderer Erkenntnis bringen. Gott kann ihnen so zeigen, was allgemein noch verborgen, gleichwohl aber das letztgültig Wirkliche ist. Er kann sie die verborgenen Wirkkräfte in der Natur, zumal im Bereich der oberen Sternwelt und ihrer Vielzahl an Engeln, gewahren lassen, er kann ihnen den "Plan" alles Geschehens zu erkennen geben, so dass sie, die selbst noch mitten darinstehen und darum nicht zur eigentlichen Wirklichkeit der Geschichte hindurchzuschauen vermögen, dennoch erkennen, wo ihre Generation sich augenblicklich befindet, wie nahe das erwartete lösende Ende der Macht des sie bedrückenden Frevels sei und wie Gottes Setzungen auch in dem ständigen Anwachsen der Frevelmächte die eigentliche Führung des Geschehens innehaben. Dies alles also, was durch die endzeitliche Offenbarung im Gerichtsgeschehen für alle enthüllt werden wird, kann Gott in vorzeitigen Offenbarungsakten einzelnen Ausersehenen gesondert enthüllen. Auch (und zwar sehr häufig) für solche Widerfahrnisse wunderbar geschenkter vorzeitiger Erkenntnis wird derselbe Begriff ἀποκαλύπτειν verwendet. "Offenbarung" dieser Art geschieht in der Weise von Vision und Audition, wobei die Vision auch die Gestalt von Himmelswanderungen haben kann, während die Audition zumeist auf die Kunde durch von Gott beauftragte Engel bezogen ist. Aber in allen möglichen Variationen solchen Offenbarungsempfanges ist es immer und grundsätzlich Gott, der die Offenbarung gibt und von dem man sie empfängt."

H. Schlier also writes (op. cit., p. 26): " Ἀποκαλύπτειν ist dabei seinem Sinn nach unter Umständen von φανεροῦν unterschieden. Während dieses das Offenbarmachen im Blick darauf bezeichnet, dass das Geoffenbarte das hell am Tage Liegende ist und also das vor Augen Sein des Geoffenbarten hervorhebt, liegt in ἀποκαλύπτειν die Angabe, dass das Offenbarmachen ein Aufdecken aus dem Verborgenen darstellt, so dass das Offenbarte als Enthülltes erscheint. So unterscheiden sich z.B. Röm 1.17: "Denn Gerechtigkeit Gottes wird in ihm (dem Evangelium) enthüllt..." von Röm 3.21: "Nun aber liegt abseits vom Gesetz Gerechtigkeit Gottes zutage..." So wird in Kol 3.3f., wo zuerst von dem mit Christus verborgenen Leben der Gläubigen in Gott die Rede ist, dann gesagt: ὅταν ὁ Χριστὸς φανερωθῇ, ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ, weil jetzt der Blick allein auf das zur Erscheinung Kommen ihres Lebens mit und in Christus fällt, vgl. 1 Pt 5.4 1 Joh 2.28, 3.2, vgl. auch 1 Kor 3.13.... Der Vorgang, den Paulus an unserer Stelle beschreibt, erweist sich also als ein Akt des Aufdeckens von etwas radikal Verborgenen. In der Offenbarung an den Apostel wird die eschatologische Enthüllung Christi (für den Apostel) vorausgenommen."

is the explicit subject of this revelation, and Paul is the receiver.<sup>16</sup>

In Jewish tradition, the concept of a revelation was the unveiling of what God has hidden from the knowledge of the present age. The mysteries of the eschatological future are veiled in the sense that God keeps them hidden with him in heaven above, though he will reveal them to all men, when the last hour has sounded. This last hour they will then experience, by receiving either damnation or salvation. God, however, sometimes anticipates the end by disclosing the hidden mysteries of the end to a few chosen men. This kind of pre-eschatological revelation takes place through the experience of a specific form of vision. Those who receive these visions are astonished to receive a sudden miraculous insight into what is hidden. Usually an audible word of interpretation is added to what is seen, or else the visionary sees an angel who at God's command gives him the interpretation. The form of such revelations, particularly in apocalyptic texts, goes back to the ancient prophetic tradition. This can also be seen in Ga 1.15 in which Paul formulates his own experience by echoing the words of the prophets. In such an act of revelation, God showed Paul Jesus as the one who is in heaven above with God, for by raising Jesus God had carried him into this eschatological and hidden realm, and had there given him the function of judge of the faithful, who will give his decision in favour of salvation. The vision of Stephen in Acts 7.56 is, perhaps, described in similar terms, whereas in the accounts of the apparition to Paul at Damascus which are given in Acts the specific character of the experience as a revelation is somewhat overshadowed by Luke's art of story-telling.

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<sup>16</sup> See: U. Wilchens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen; Zur traditionsgeschichtlichen Analyse von 1 Kor 15.1-11", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, p. 83, n. 66.: "ἐν ἑσώτῃ" meint nicht die existenzielle Tiefenwirkung der Erscheinung im Innern des Paulus (so Schlier), sondern bezeichnet gleichbedeutend mit dem einfachen Dativ-Paulus als Empfänger der Offenbarung



The content of revelation is Jesus Christ as the risen one: "and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord." (Ro 1.4). God opened the encounter with the risen one, heavenly Jesus to Paul: "And he said, 'Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God'." (Ac 7.56), ".... was pleased to reveal his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood." (Ga 1.16).

This encounter, however, was not confined to the dawning realization of the risen one in Paul, but implied at the same time his vocation and sending as a Gentile apostle by the risen one.<sup>17</sup>

This means that Paul saw in his calling the command to play a part in God's plan of salvation (cf. Ro 9.11). In Ro 9.11, one might recognize that proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles is an integral part of the plan of salvation, that is God initiates his plan by effecting proclamation to the Jews first and then to the Gentiles. However, this mode of "heilsgeschichtlich" understanding of the Gentile mission is a stumbling block to the opponents in Galatia.<sup>18</sup> They demanded that the Gentiles be circumcised (Ga 6.12f.) in order to have a sign of their incorporation into the Jewish community, whose place in God's plan was based on the gift, knowledge and preservation of the Law, the Torah. The opponents' understanding of God's plan of salvation was quite

<sup>17</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 84: "Was Paulus als Heidenapostel zu verkündigen hat, hat das zum Inhalt, was Gott an Jesus getan hat: seine Auferweckung von den Toten und Erhöhung zum himmlischen Heilsmittler der Endzeit. Eben dieser Inhalt seines *εὐαγγέλιον* aber war zugleich Inhalt der ihm widerfahrenen Offenbarung durch Gott. Darum legitimiert die Erscheinung ihn als Apostel, indem sie die Wahrheit (Wirklichkeit) der ihm damit aufgetragenen Verkündigung 'offenbart'."

<sup>18</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem", ZeitTheolKir, 56, 1959, p. 275: "Nicht die Tatsache der Heidenmission als solche, sondern die Selbstständigkeit und heilsgeschichtliche Gleichursprünglichkeit der Heidenchristen neben und mit den Judenchristen galt den Gegnern als skandalös."

different from that of Paul.<sup>19</sup>

Paul warned against his opponents:

"I am astonished that you are so quickly deserting him, who called you in the grace of Christ and turning to a different gospel - not that there is another gospel, but there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the gospel of Christ." (Ga 1.6f.)

"What then? Are we to sin because we are not under law but under grace? By no means!" (Ro 6.15)

"You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the law; you have fallen away from grace." (Ga 5.4)

Paul understood his calling as apostle to the Gentiles in immediate connection with the centre of the gospel of Christ. He received the gospel in the kerygmatic statement of the tradition, but as an apostle to the Gentiles he interpreted it in a particular way, that is as the proclamation of Christ as the end of the Law (Ro 10.4): "For Christ is the end of the law, that everyone who has faith may be justified."

#### 2.4 Philippians 3.4ff.

The importance and far-reaching effects of Paul's decision to follow Christ, sc. his conversion, are particularly clearly set forth in Philippians 3.4ff. Turning sharply on his opponents, Paul first enumerates the prerogatives he once could boast of. But then he goes on: "But whatever gain I had, I counted as loss for the sake of Christ. Indeed I count everything as loss because of the

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<sup>19</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, *op. cit.*, p. 276: "Im Gegensatz zu ihm sehen seine Gegner den Heilsplan Gottes darin, dass die Heiden in die von Gott durch die Erwählung Israels geschaffene jüdische Heilsgemeinde sekundär mit aufgenommen werden dürfen, weshalb sie genau wie die Judenchristen, die seit dem 8. Tage ihres Lebens beschnitten sind, durch denselben Initiations- und Bekenntnisakt der Beschneidung in den konstituierenden Geltungsbereich der Tora einbezogen werden müssten."



surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith." (Php 3.7-9)

There is no suggestion that, while Paul highly esteemed his former possessions, they did not, before his conversion, mean everything to him. At his conversion, however, his former wealth changed into refuse, and he is filled with loathing for it and he regards his former zeal to be accepted by God, his righteousness simply as an attempt at self-assertion. What Paul here illustrates by means of his own conversion is very much more than a personal confession of faith. It takes precedence over the hour when Christ appeared to him - of this there is not a word here - and becomes the most decisive statement about his whole life. But it goes further; it epitomizes his gospel of the revelation of God's righteousness which treats all men as lost, but now, for the first time, through the gospel, brings them under divine grace. Christ's coming and self-sacrifice betoken the turning point in the aeons, as is said in Romans: "For Christ is the end of the law, that every one who has faith may be justified." (10.4)

Therefore one may say that in Php 3.4ff., as in Ga 1.13f., it is clear at least that Paul already experienced the antithesis between the Law and Christ as consecutive stages in the history of salvation in the turning point of his life on the way to Damascus: "circumcised on the eighth day, of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law a Pharisee, as to zeal a persecutor of the church, as to righteousness under the law blameless." (Php 3.5f.). Before his calling, Paul was an Israelite who was righteous in the

law and by the law, and a Pharisee to whom the law was all (v.5: κατὰ νόμον, v.6: κατὰ ζῆλος). After the event of the Damascus road, however, Paul abandoned all of these for Christ who became all for him in place of the law.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.5 Summary

(1) One can say that the content and the context of the three passages (Ga 1.12, 15 1 Cor 15.8-10 Php 3.4ff.) in which Paul explicitly mentions what had happened to him show that he experienced a revelation of Jesus Christ. The content of this revelation was Jesus himself as the risen and the exalted "Son of God" (cf. Ga 1.15 Ro 1.4).

(2) In its form it is a revelation-experience similar to the Apocalyptic vision, in which an anticipatory view into the reality of God's mysteries is granted to chosen people.

(3) However, the revelation, which Paul received goes beyond the framework of this tradition, in so far as the resurrection of Jesus is revealed to him as the eschatological event which has already occurred and the risen Jesus is revealed to him as the eschatological mediator of salvation. In the process the traditional concept of the resurrection, sc. the Jewish hope of the resurrection, has also been changed, in so far as the risen one is also the one who has been

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<sup>20</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 277: "Seine biographische Wendung, die wir seine Bekehrung zu nennen pflegen, korrespondiert in seinem Verständnis also jener heilsgeschichtlichen Wende, die er in Röm 10.4 als das Ende des Gesetzes bezeichnet. Wie durch Gottes Heilshandeln Christus an die Stelle des Gesetzes getreten bzw. als solcher offenbart worden ist-wodurch das Heil ursprünglich den Heiden zugleich mit den Juden eröffnet wurde -, so ist Paulus entsprechend eben diesem selben Heilswillen Gottes zum Apostel der Heiden berufen worden, indem er Christus als das Ende des Gesetzes predigt."



exalted to heaven and has assumed the function of the eschatological mediator of salvation.<sup>21</sup>

(4) For Paul experience of the eschatological event meant his calling and authorization as an apostle, particularly to the Gentiles (der heilsgeschichtliche Plan Gottes), and implied an entirely new understanding of law (die heilsgeschichtliche Antithese Gesetz-Christus).

Paul himself has little to say about his conversion and call, and when he does mention them, it is with reserve. Nevertheless, one can see that they are important, for it is evident that Paul traces the origin of his mission to his vision of Jesus (cf. Mt 28.16ff., Jn 20.19-23, Ac 10.40-42). For Paul, his vision, his revelation of Jesus Christ (and this alone), substantiates his apostleship. It is also important, in that it is on his conversion that his new and original explication of the gospel depends, his understanding of law and history in view of the gospel, the gospel which is for him the one thing of importance.

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<sup>21</sup> According to U. Wilckens, the tradition of the Jewish hope of the resurrection begins with the Apocalypse of Isaiah, and goes on through the Book of Daniel to the Apocalypse of Baruch and Ezra. (e.g. Dan 12.1ff., 2 Macc 7.9, 14, 36, 12.43f., 2 Esr 7.25). They show common features in their conceptual structure, for "Resurrection is always an act of God in the context of the events of the last days. No one other than God can raise the dead. Resurrection means that God calls the souls or spirits of the dead, lying in the sleep of death in their chambers, from their 'cells' and brings them to himself in the exaltation of his throne of judgement. Thus resurrection is the means by which the dead are carried into the moment of the conclusion of time, in order to receive their final destiny through the judgement of God, whether it be damnation or the salvation of eternal life. Thus resurrection is only resurrection to life where God's judgement allows them to eschatological life; resurrection can also be resurrection to eternal damnation. Resurrection is always initium finis; that is, it signifies being carried and lifted up to receive a final decision about the destiny of those who are resurrected." (U. Wilckens, "The Tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed. C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, pp. 65f.

Chapter 3 1 Corinthians 15.3ff.

3.1 Textual Problems

The problem concerning the derivation of 1 Cor 15.3-5 has been discussed for a long time.<sup>1</sup>

J. Jeremias proposed that 1 Cor 15.3-5 contains a testimony that originated in the Palestinian community: the original text of 1 Cor 15.3-5 is Semitic and is probably related to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. W. Heitmüller, "Zum Problem Paulus und Jesus", ZeitNTWiss, 13, 1912, p. 331: "Wir lernen hier den Hauptinhalt der Predigt des hellenistischen Christentums kennen." cf. W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, Göttingen, 1921(2), p. 73: Bousset holds Palestinian Community. Against this: e.g. M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1966(5), p. 17: "... nicht die UGemeinde... sondern der Kreis hellenistischer Gemeinden, dem Paulus sich anschloss." cf. E. Käsemann, "Zum Thema der Nichtobjektivierbarkeit", in: Exegetische Versuche und Beginnungen, 1, Göttingen, 1960, p. 225: "Um das Jahr 55 überliefert Paulus in 1 Kor 15.3-7 eine katechetische Lehrtradition über die Auferstehungsereignisse, die er seinerseits aus der (hellenistisch-?) judenchristlichen Gemeinde übernommen hat."

<sup>2</sup> J. Jeremias, Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu, Göttingen, 1960(3), pp. 95-97. H. v. Campenhausen, Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 9f.: Campenhausen holds Jerusalem, "wo die Formel wahrscheinlich entstanden ist." See also, E. Lohse, Martyrer und Gottesknecht, Göttingen, 1955, p. 113, also Die Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi, Gütersloh, 1964, pp. 12f. Also see, H. Grass, Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte, Göttingen, 1964, p. 95, p. 127, pp. 134ff., p. 300: "Dass die Formel aus der Jerusalemer Gemeinde stammt, ist wahrscheinlich, wahrscheinlicher jedenfalls als dass sie aus Antiochien stammt." cf. F. Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, Göttingen, 1964, p. 199: "Die früher bisweilen vertretene Ansicht einer Entstehung im Bereich der ersten hellenistischen Gemeinde von Damaskus oder Antiochien steht auf schwachen Füßen." See also K.H. Rengstorf, Die Auferstehung Jesu, Luther-Verlag, 1952, pp. 47f.



Against J. Jeremias' proposal, H. Conzelmann<sup>3</sup> holds that the original text of 1 Cor 15.3-5 is Greek. However, a decision about the locality of the original Greek text is very difficult. According to H. Conzelmann's supposition, the locality of the original text is Antioch.

Recently, B. Klappert<sup>4</sup> again argued this problem by proposing a methodological modification of H. Conzelmann's argument.

H. Conzelmann indicates the strong connection of the form, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, with that of Is 53 (LXX), and rejects the probability of the relation of 1 Cor 15.3 to the Targum Text.<sup>5</sup>

B. Klappert indicates the Aramaic equivalent (Is 53.5. Targ) of Ro 4.25.<sup>6</sup> Then he proposed ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (1 Cor 15.3) as a translation of Is 53.5 אב Targ, אֲיִלְיָא אֲיִלְיָא .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> H. Conzelmann, "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel 1 Kor 15.3-5", EvangTheol 25 1965, pp. 1-11, esp. pp. 4-6, cf. Ph. Vielhauer, "Ein Weg zur neutestamentlichen Christologie?", EvangTheol, 25, 1965, pp. 24-72, esp. pp. 56-60.

<sup>4</sup> B. Klappert, "Zur Frage des semitischen oder griechischen Urtextes. Von 1 Kor XV 3-5", NTStud, 13, pp. 168-73.

<sup>5</sup> H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 1ff.

<sup>6</sup> B. Klappert, op. cit., p. 170: "...., dass die Wendung παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν (Röm 4.25) nicht auf Js. 53, 12 LXX (διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη) zurückgeht, wie Conzelmann meint, sondern ein Zitat von Js 53,5 Tg ist, denn אֲיִלְיָא אֲיִלְיָא entspricht genau der Wendung παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν in Röm. iv,25. Eine Herleitung von Js 53,12 LXX διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη empfiehlt sich deshalb nicht, weil (1) die Wortfolge in Röm. iv.25 gegenüber Is 53,12 LXX umgekehrt ist, (2) LXX αὐτῶν statt ἡμῶν hat und (3) παραπτώματα in Is 53 LXX völlig fehlt, folglich sein Auftauchen in Röm iv.25 nicht auf LXX-Einfluss zurückzuführen ist."

<sup>7</sup> B. Klappert, op. cit., p. 170: "...., dass διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν (Röm iv.25) Wiedergabe von Is 53.5 אב Tg.: אֲיִלְיָא אֲיִלְיָא ist und lehnt man das Urteil Conzelmanns ab, dass der Targum a limine zur Bestimmung des Urtextes nicht infrage komme, so machen diese Ueberlegungen wahrscheinlich, dass die Wendung ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (1 Kor 15.3) ebenfalls Wiedergabe von Is 53.5 אב Tg.: אֲיִלְיָא אֲיִלְיָא ist. Die Grundformel Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἡγέρθη (vgl. Röm iv.25, viii 34, xiv, 9) wäre dann durch ein Element aus Is. 53.5 אב Tg. erweitert worden."

Using these arguments as a basis, Klappert proposes that Ro 4.25: *διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν* and 1 Cor 15.3: *ὕπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* are alternative translations of Is 53.5 *αβ* Targ. 8

He also takes into account Ga 1.4 and judges the passage also a translation variant of the Is 53. Targ.

Is 53.5 *αβ* Targ: *לְיָמֵינוּ יְיָ יֵשׁוּעַ בְּעַד מִצְוֹתָיו*

Ro 4.25: *παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν*

Ga 1.4: *ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*

Concerning the preposition *ὕπὲρ* and Is 53 (LXX), J. Jeremias indicates that *ὕπὲρ* in 1 Cor 15.3-5 does not refer to Is 53 (LXX), for the reason that *ὕπὲρ* with genitive is lacking in Is 53 (LXX), which has *διὰ* with the accusative and *περί* with the genitive.

Against J. Jeremias' proposition, H. Conzelmann argues that "The reference to the Hebrew text is weaker than to the Greek text, which does after all contain a *περί*."<sup>9</sup> B. Klappert, however, argues that "The preposition *ὕπὲρ* in 1 Cor 15.3 - alternative translations to *διὰ* (Ro 4.25)—is a rendering of Is 53.5 *αβ* Targ."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> B. Klappert, *op. cit.*, p. 170: "Ist die Konstatierung der Bezugnahme von Röm iv.25 und 1 Kor xv.3 auf Is 53.5 *αβ* Targ. richtig, so wären nicht nur die Präpositionen *διὰ* (Röm 4.25) und *ὕπὲρ* (1 Kor XV.3) als Wiedergabe der Präposition *א*, sondern auch die Wendungen: *διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν* (Röm 4.25) und *ὕπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* (1 Kor. 15.3) als Uebersetzungsvarianten zu beurteilen."

<sup>9</sup> H. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 5. H. Conzelmann holds that *περί* and *ὕπὲρ* are interchangeable.

<sup>10</sup> B. Klappert, *op. cit.*, pp. 171f.: "Die Auftauschbarkeit von *ὕπὲρ* und *περί*: Conzelmann hat schliesslich seine These, dass die ursprüngliche Sprache der Formel die griechische sei, entscheidend damit begründet, dass "die beiden Präpositionen *περί* und *ὕπὲρ* ... in den kerygmatischen Aussagen über das Heilswerk Christi ausgetauscht werden" können, wie das Verhältnis von Matt xxvi. 28 zu Mark xiv. 24 zeige. Nun hat, was das Verhältnis von Matt. xxvi. 28 (*περί*) zu Mark xiv. 24 (*ὕπὲρ*) anbetrifft, J. Jeremias bereits wahrscheinlich



B. Klappert concludes: "One could sum up in such a way, that the thesis, that the creed in 1 Cor 15.3-5 has its roots in the Aramaic-speaking community in Jerusalem, is to be regarded as more probable than the thesis that the text is originally a confession formulated in Greek. The creed in 1 Cor 15.3-5 originates most probably in a Semitic proto-text."<sup>11</sup>

Recently J. Jeremias argued again about the "Artikelloses Χριστός in 1 Cor 15.3."<sup>12</sup> In his article, Jeremias concludes: " ΠΨΧ is thus

# 10 (contd.)

gemacht, dass die Abweichung des Matt. vom Mark.-Text nicht etwa eine Ueberlieferungsvariante darstellt, sondern auf Matt. zurückgeht, bei dem sich ὑπέρ mit Gen. nur ein einziges Mal. (v. 44), dagegen περί mit Gen. 20-mal findet. Matt. teilt die allgemeine Vorliebe für περί innerhalb des N.T., in dem gelegentlich περί für ὑπέρ eintritt, während die umgekehrte Vertauschung (ὑπέρ für περί) seltener ist. Hinzu kommt, dass die Analyse nicht allgemein den Wechsel der Präpositionen ὑπέρ und περί einfach konstatieren sollte (so aber Conzelmann), sondern diesen Wechsel streng im Zusammenhang der Wendung: ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν (1 Kor. xv. 3) zu untersuchen hätte. Was bei einer solchen Präzisierung der Fragestellung die Ersetzung von ὑπέρ durch περί im Zusammenhang der Wendung " ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν " anbetrifft, so ist lediglich auf 1. Petr. iii. 18: Χριστὸς ἕως περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν, Heb. x. 10: περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολείπεται θυσία und 1. Joh. ii. 2 (iv. 10): αὐτὸς ἡμεῖς περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν zu verweisen. Für alle diese Stellen ist angesichts ihres Auftretens in späten Schriftstücken wahrscheinlich, dass wir es bei ihnen mit einer im N.T. auch sonst sichtbaren Tendenz der Ersetzung von ὑπέρ durch περί zu tun haben."

<sup>11</sup> B. Klappert, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>12</sup> J. Jeremias, "Nochmals: Artikelloses Χριστός in 1 Cor 15.3," *ZeitNTWiss.*, 60, 1969, pp. 214-219, p. 219. cf. "Artikelloses Χριστός. Zur Ursprache von 1 Cor 15.3b-5," *ZeitNTWiss.*, 57, 1966, pp. 211-215.

J. Jeremias has sought to prove that in Semitic circles Χριστός was used as a title without the article and that the same was true of ΠΨΧ. Rejecting J. Jeremias' arguments in the article, "Artikelloses Χριστός", E. Güttgemann says ("Christos in 1. Kor. 15.3b - Titel oder Eigenname?" *EvangTheol* 28, 1968, pp. 533-554) that more than half of Jeremias' examples are not relevant to the issue in debate; none is contemporary with 1 Cor; an early date is not proved for most of them. So few are certain instances, that they cannot establish that such a usage was customary in the first century. He holds that in 1 Cor 15.3 Paul understood Christos as a proper name and therefore hardly considered it a translation of ΠΨΧ.

not only in Mesopotamia, but also in Palestinian Judaism widely used as a proper noun without an article, though at the same time there remains complete awareness of the derivation from  $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\varsigma$  and the titular significance of the term. Only thus, on the basis of Semitic usage, which omitted the article without prejudice to the meaning or the titular significance, is it intelligible, that the pre-Pauline, Greek speaking community already used 'Χριστός' without the article - as for example in 1 Cor 15.3b."

However, whether 1 Cor 15.3-5 originates in the Palestinian community or whether it originates in the Greek-speaking Jewish Christian Church, cannot be decided merely in philological examinations.

As J. Jeremias and also B. Klappert point out, the Greek in 1 Cor 15.3-5 is indeed close to that of a Semitic language. Nevertheless, that is no reason for supposing that it arose in the circle of tradition formed by the primitive community in Jerusalem, for the Syrian communities, for example, were at least bilingual, so that on this basis the formula could have come into being in Antioch just as well as in Jerusalem.

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12 (contd.)

cf. U. Wilckens, "The tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The Significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed. C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, p. 47. See also: H. Conzelmann, Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments, München, 1967 ET: An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1969, pp. 64f.: "The terminology shows semitic influence. It is usually concluded from this that the original form of the formula was Aramaic, therefore it arose in the earliest period, even in Jerusalem. But an exact analysis of style shows that we do not have a translation from the Aramaic here, but a passage influenced by the language of the LXX- hence the impression of Semitic colouring. That means that the community which composed the formula used the Old Testament in the Greek translation, i.e. spoke Greek. This is not, however, to deny that a Jerusalem tradition was incorporated in it."



### 3.2 Sitz im Leben of the formula in 1 Corinthians 15.3ff. - Form-critical Study.

The oldest form of the Easter Kerygma is not to be found in the Easter narratives recorded in the Gospels, but in the christological form of the tradition in the pre-Pauline time, which one finds in the Epistles of Paul and Acts by form-critical analysis.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> This Form is named in various ways such as: "Glaubensbekenntnis", "Paradosis", "Bekenntnisbildung", "Symbol", "Credo", "Verkündigungsformel", "Homologie", "Pistis-Formel", "Glaubensformel", "Bekenntnis", "Akklamation", "Praesymbola". K. Lehmann (Auferweckt am Dritten Tag nach der Schrift, Freiburg, 1968) concludes his argument on "Die formgeschichtliche Bestimmung 'Glaubensformel'" with the following sentences (pp. 59f.): "So wird man also nicht bedenkenlos beim Begriff der 'Formel' stehenbleiben können, ohne die darin enthaltene Problematik mitezubetrachten. Sonst wird die 'Formel' sehr rasch auch im Sinne eines 'dürren Schemas' verstanden. Wenn die Bekenntnistradition gerade als wiederholt gebrauchte Wendung auftritt, dann möchte Paulus seine Adressaten an die ursprüngliche Botschaft des Glaubens erinnern. 'Er erinnert nicht nur an Texte. Er erinnert an das schon verkündigte Wort. Seine Briefe bewegen sich erstaunlich oft im Modus der Erinnerung. Das hängt damit zusammen, dass Paulus mit schärfsten Krisen zu ringen hat, von denen die durch seine Verkündigung entstandenen jungen Kirchen überfallen sind: in Galatien, in Philippi, in Korinth.'" (G. Eichholz, Tradition und Interpretation, München, 1965, p. 29) Deswegen bleibt es nicht bei tradierten 'Formeln'. 'Paulus greift vor die Formeln zurück auf das in ihnen Bezeugte... So bleiben die Formeln lebendig. Paulus verwendet alle Traditionen im Dienst seiner Verkündigung'. (G. Eichholz, op. cit., p. 30.) Hier liegt die tiefere Einheit von 'Credo' und theologischer Entfaltung. Jede Kennzeichnung des formgeschichtlichen Charakters von 1 Kor 15.3-5, die diesen fundamentalen Zug verkennt, greift zu kurz. Die Bezeichnung 'katechetische Formel' ist eindeutig zu eng."

Regarding the christological form of the tradition: see also the following literature, M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1961(4) pp. 24f., pp. 34ff., pp. 41ff., pp. 128ff., R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953. ET: Theology of the New Testament, London, 1952-55, V.H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions, London, 1963, R. Deichgräber, Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit, Göttingen, 1967, H. Conzelmann, Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments, München, 1967, ET: An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1969, pp. 81ff., pp. 106f., pp. 320ff., A. Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, Munich, 1966(2), E. Stauffer, Theologie des NTs, Gütersloh, 1948(4), p. 316, W. Marxsen, Einleitung in das NT, Gütersloh, 1963, pp. 28-30, W. Kramer, Christos, Kyrios, Gottessohn, Zürich, 1963, E. Nordens, Agnostos Theos, Leipzig, 1966, pp. 355ff., W. Popkes, Christus traditus, Zürich, 1967,

However, the earliest Easter kerygma might not be found in the texts that express the dignity of the risen Christ (Würde des Erhöhten). (e.g. Ac 2.36, Ro 1.3f.), but rather in a simple formula concerning mainly the life of Jesus (Jesu Weg)<sup>14</sup> (e.g. Ac 2.23, 3.15, 4.10, 5.30).

Consequently many scholars<sup>15</sup> hold that the shortest formula, which simply expresses the event of the resurrection, belongs to the oldest tradition, e.g. Ro 10.9: *ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, and detailed formulae such as 1 Cor 15.3b-5 may be later theological developments.<sup>16</sup>

### 13 (contd.)

P. Feine, Die Gestalt des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Zeit des Neuen Testaments, Leipzig, 1925, W.G. Kümmel, An die Korinther I/II, (HNT), Tübingen, 1949, p. 191, B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, Uppsala, 1961 p. 297, F. Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, Göttingen, 1963, p. 197, H. Rengetorf, op. cit., G. Eichholz, Tradition und Interpretation, München, 1965, K. Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen, Neukirch, 1962, pp. 51ff., P. Stuhlmacher, "Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der Theologie bei Paulus", EvangTheol, 27, 1967, pp. 1ff., W. Heitmüller, "Zum Problem Paulus u. Jesus", ZeitNTWiss, 13, 1912, p. 320, O. Cullmann, "Die ersten christlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse", Theologische Studien, 15, 1943.

<sup>14</sup> L. Goppelt, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>15</sup> e.g. H. Conzelmann, RGK, (3), 1. cols. 698f., "Jesus von Nazareth und der Glaube an den Auferstandenen", in: Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus, Berlin, 1961, pp. 198ff.; similarly, G. Bornkamm, Jesus von Nazareth, Stuttgart, 1956, p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> Ro 10.9b mentions only one saving act which is to be believed in the heart: *ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Comparing this with 1 Cor 15.4b: *καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, we note the following differences. 1) God is explicitly the agent in the resurrection. 2) The verb *ἤγειρεν* is aorist, emphasizing the once-for-all character of the resurrection as a past event. 3) The resurrection is a resurrection "from the dead". There is no mention of "the third day". 4) The Christological title to which this sentence relates might at first sight appear to be *κύριον Ἰησοῦν*, together with the rest of v. 9a and clearly belongs to a different range of christological ideas.



This proposal for setting the historical time of the traditions, however, is to be investigated more closely. All one can say at this stage is that the traditional statement about the resurrection of Christ existed in different forms, one type following the pattern of the formula at 1Cor 15.3b-5 and the other in the form used at Ro 10.9, etc. And Paul preferred the latter form. (It may be disputable, however, whether the formula which expressed only the bare fact had relevance as a proclamation at that time for no Jew could have been content with such bare information relating to his faith.)

If one examines the formulae which could be recognized clearly as proclamation, one can also find another form of the Easter Kerygma in the preaching of Peter in Ac 2-5. Without doubt the form of the missionary proclamation in Israel constitutes a background for this. Here "an antithetical view on the life of Jesus" (eine antithetische Aussage über Jesu Weg)<sup>17</sup> is obvious: e.g. Ac 2.23: "This Jesus, delivered up according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God, you crucified and killed by the hands of lawless men." (cf. 3.15 4.10 5.30).

This sort of proclamation is generally combined with reference to the fulfilment of the scripture and with reference to the witness of the Easter appearances in Peter's preaching as well as 1 Cor 15.3b-5. The preaching of Peter clearly refers to the earthly acts of Jesus (Ac 2-5), and in comparison with this 1 Cor 15.3b-5 relates to the meaning of the death of Jesus, about which the Kerygma in Acts does not talk much.

In his studies in the Acts of Apostles, Dibelius had proposed the thesis that Luke had indeed formulated the details of the speeches, but had derived their pattern from an early tradition of sermons and also found detailed kerygmatic

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<sup>17</sup> L. Goppelt, op. cit., p. 86.

formulation already in existence.<sup>18</sup>

In U. Wilckens' opinion, the question ought to be raised of whether the pattern of the sermon pointed out by Dibelius might not be detected in non-Lucan texts as well. This Dibelius has not attempted, but has always only taken it for granted. Dibelius merely adduced 1 Cor 15.1, 3-8 in order to substantiate his assertion that there was an existing traditional pattern for the first speeches in the Acts.<sup>19</sup> Wilckens, however, has demonstrated in a very careful analysis that the sermon pattern in the first missionary speeches is not found in 1 Cor 15, but that there are fundamental differences between the two:

1) The speeches in Acts merely report the fact of Jesus' death: in 1 Cor 15.3b, on the other hand, there is a mention of the soteriological significance of Jesus' death: *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*.

2) 1 Cor 15 speaks only of the death of Christ: the missionary speeches refer to Jesus being killed.

3) 1 Cor 15 lacks any statement about the story of Jesus' passion and in contrast to Acts, no mention is made either of the action of the Jews or of the manner of Jesus' death. It is not the death as such, but its soteriological significance, that is the purpose of the statement.

4) In contrast to the missionary speeches, 1 Cor 15 lacks any reference to Jesus' life before his death.

5) Admittedly, use is made of scriptural proof in both passages, but in the missionary speeches it is merely intended to be evidence from the OT for the fact of the death and resurrection: in 1 Cor 15.3f., however, it bears

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<sup>18</sup> M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Tübingen, 1963, ET: *From tradition to Gospel*, London, 1934, pp. 16ff.

<sup>19</sup> M. Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-22. cf. U. Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte*, Neukirchen, 1961, pp. 77ff.



witness to the soteriological significance of the death and the resurrection "on the third day".

6) In both passages, the word "raised" is used, but the "third day" is mentioned only in Ac 10.40. 7) There is only one traditio-historical connection between 1 Cor 15.5 and Lk 24.34, the mention of the first appearance of the risen one to Peter. Wilckens, having established these facts, reaches the conclusion, in opposition to Dibelius, that "1 Cor 15 does not provide evidence for the sermon tradition, conjectured by Dibelius on the basis of the speeches in Acts."<sup>20</sup>

With regard to this problem, L. Goppelt argues that "This difference is to be explained, in the first instance, by a difference in the direction of the kerygma, not by differences in Christology. The form of Peter's sermons is a missionary penitential summons to Jesus' Jewish contemporaries. They are held responsible for their behaviour to the man of God, Jesus (cf. Mt 11.20-24). On the other hand 1 Cor 15.3-5 is a catechetical summary of the Easter kerygma for the congregation, which appropriates the confession in the 'we'-style: Jesus' death is declared to have taken place for them. It is not surprising that the Easter kerygma from the beginning appeared both in an outward and in an inner-directed form, for both aspects were already in effective operation in Jesus' earthly activity, being simply given by the facts of the matter. In his earthly life, Jesus, in view of the imminent coming of the kingdom, summons all men to repentance (Mt 4.17). But 'the secret of the kingdom of God' (Mk 4.11), namely the coming of the kingdom in the present in his activity, and the secret of his status as of his departure, he makes known only to his followers (cf. Mk 8.30f.), for the

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<sup>20</sup> U. Wilckens, *op. cit.*, p. 80. cf. B.M.F. Van Iersel, "Der Sohn" in den synoptischen Jesusworten, Leiden, 1961, pp. 33-51. J. Schneider (Die Beiträge der Urgemeinde zur Jesusüberlieferung im Lichte der neuesten Forschung", TheoLitZeit, 1962, pp. 401ff.) supports Dibelius against Wilckens and maintains that the pattern employed is a traditional one.

only avenue to this is faith. Accordingly it is not surprising that after Jesus' departure both aspects, even if in altered form, occur anew both in the formation of the Easter kerygma and in the Markan and the 'Q' tradition. For a historicist and objectifying analysis both forms of the Easter kerygma fall apart as indeed both sides of Jesus' earthly activity and both streams of the synoptic tradition (Mk and Q): for an <sup>a</sup>analysis with theological understanding they belong, as missionary and catechetical kerygma, materially together."<sup>21</sup>

Clearly Goppelt's arguments about the derivation of the interpretations of the kerygma are supported by the presupposition that the Easter kerygma in 1 Cor 15 has originated in the Palestinian community. It might be still disputable, however, whether or not the Easter kerygma in 1 Corinthians originated in the Palestinian community.

One might say that, since the formula in 1 Cor 15.3b-5 is pre-Pauline, there are three groups whom scholars consider as possible authors of it.

- 1) The Hellenistic Gentile Christian Church.
- 2) The Greek-speaking Jewish Christian Church, i.e. the "hellenists" of Acts 6.1 (=the "Stephen circle" in the wider sense).
- 3) The early Aramaic-speaking Church (in Jerusalem).

As one noted in the former section, Jeremias has referred to the Semitic character of the formula.

E. Schweizer points out the fact that the formula mentions appearances which do not figure in the synoptic tradition. This at least guarantees, as Schweizer understands it, that in form and content this statement in the formula is of great antiquity.<sup>22</sup> Paul himself emphasizes in v.11 that the formula is determinative

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<sup>21</sup> L. Goppelt, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> E. Schweizer, Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern, Zürich, 1955, p. 9.



both for his own preaching and also for that of the original apostles:<sup>23</sup> "Whether then it was I or they, so we preach and so you believed."

The appearances to Peter (Lk 24.34: λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως ἡγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὡφθῇ Σίμωνι) and others gave to the disciples an experience by virtue of which they became the Aramaic-speaking Church in Jerusalem. By this Easter experience the Church lived, believed and waited. So one might assume that this awareness must have been formulated in some way (admittedly the Q materials do not speak of the resurrection, but it is all the same presupposed in the sense that only the resurrection makes it possible to await Jesus as the Son of Man) possibly in terms like these: ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν

(Ro 10.9). It is probable that this sentence, or one like it, was used by the early Aramaic-speaking Church in its preaching. The statement about the death did not need to be formulated at the same time, for this was known to all and served as the foil against which the resurrection stood out. This sentence, side by side with the confession of Jesus as Messiah, seems to have played an important part in preaching both to Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking Jews.

The further the chain of missionary activity spread beyond the confines of the earliest and smallest circle, the less was Jesus' death generally known or tacitly presupposed. Thus it had to be expressly stated and justified together with the statement about the resurrection. This stage could not possibly have been reached until Greek-speaking Jewish Christians undertook the mission to the Gentiles. So this moment could be the terminus ad quem for the formulation of the statement about the death.

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<sup>23</sup> cf. A. Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, München, 1966, p. 189, p. 193. He concludes from this that the formula must have arisen in the original circle of the apostles between AD. 30 and 35. But he fails to distinguish sufficiently between the time when the formula was acknowledged and the time when it originated.

From the texts themselves it is very difficult to obtain clues for dating the statement about the death. All the same, because the death is not merely mentioned, but is interpreted as being "for us" or "for our sins", one may take it that the formation does not come from the very earliest period of the Aramaic-speaking Church.<sup>24</sup> This is underlined by the observation that in those strata of the synoptic tradition which go back to the early Aramaic-speaking Church, there is no interpretation of Jesus' death by means of the *ἐπὶ* phrase or any similar expression. One could say, therefore, that such an interpretation of Jesus' death does not originate from the Q environment,<sup>25</sup> nor does the material peculiar to Luke contain such a conception. Only in Mk 10.45, an *ἵνα* saying,<sup>26</sup> and in Mk 14.24, the saying which interprets the significance of the cup in the account of the last supper, does the idea appear. Presumably neither of these sayings goes back to the early Aramaic-speaking Church (The absence of any interpretation of Jesus' death in the earliest strata of the synoptic tradition fits well with what one can establish as the theology of Q. This source gives evidence of a rigorist attitude towards the Torah (cf. Lk 16.17 and parallels), and also of the expression of the Son of Man's coming upon Zion (cf. Lk 17.24 and parallels)). The Q community's christology certainly sees in Jesus the eschatological teacher of wisdom and preacher of repentance (cf. Lk 11.31f. and parallels), but it does not go so far

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<sup>24</sup> cf. H. Braun ("Der Sinn der neutestamentlichen Christologie", *ZeitTheolKirch*, 54, 1957, p. 349) takes no account of this when he concludes from the presence of sacrificial language that this is the theological teaching of the original church.

<sup>25</sup> cf. H.E. Tödt, *Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Ueberlieferung*, Gütersloh, 1963. ET: *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, London, 1965, p. 251.

<sup>26</sup> R. Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, Göttingen, 1921. ET: *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 143f., p. 155.) takes a different view, seeing in the saying a combination of "Son of Man" and "Ebed Yahweh" ideas.



as to take up and interpret positively the death of Jesus. Of course, the circle responsible for the Q source does not make up the entire early Aramaic-speaking church, but what one finds here is symptomatic.<sup>27</sup> So it is not certain from the texts that the *ḥn̄p̄* phrase comes from the early Aramaic-speaking church. Since it is clear, nevertheless, that the ideas which lie behind this phrase are Jewish in origin,<sup>28</sup> (this is so, whether the idea is of an atoning sacrifice, or of the vicarious suffering of a righteous man.),<sup>29</sup> it must have here arisen within a Jewish-Christian environment. If one takes all these points into account, the most likely supposition is that it was the Greek-speaking Jewish Christians who interpreted Jesus' death precisely in terms of the *ḥn̄p̄* phrase and formulated the statement about the death accordingly.

If these reflections are correct, then the statement about the resurrection was handed on as a piece of tradition from Aramaic-speaking to Greek-speaking Jewish Christians. The latter then formulated the statement about the death as something which happened "for us", and then joined the two statements together in one formula of two parts. Because the statements originated in different places, it is natural that they are not parallel in structure. The second part affirms the resurrection as an event, whereas the first part expounds the saving significance of the death. However, just because of this, the essential unity of the two statements is preserved. For while the resurrection constitutes, or

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<sup>27</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953. ET: Theology of the New Testament, London, 1952-55, Vol. 1., pp. 43ff.

<sup>28</sup> cf. E. Schweizer, op. cit., p. 73. See also: R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 3, p. 7, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> cf. E. Schweizer, op. cit., p. 82: Schweizer says that "neither Paul nor the Hellenistic Church were the first to interpret Jesus' death as atonement." It is not clear, however, whether this means that he attributes this interpretation to the early Aramaic-speaking Church.

confirms, Jesus' eschatological status, the phrase "for us" interprets his death as the death of this same eschatological figure.

In the kerygma of Acts this essential unity is broken down into two parts,<sup>30</sup> and the pattern there is "You killed him, but God raised him." Wilckens has shown that this is not an earlier composition than the interpretative statement containing "for us", but is simply Lucan style.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly the completely parallel formation of the two lines in Ro 4.25,  
 ὅς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡρέθη διὰ  
 τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν, show features which are clearly secondary by  
 comparison with the formula which has been established above.

Thus one recognizes the Greek-speaking Jewish church as the author of the statement about Jesus' death, for Jewish ideas are used to interpret that death, and one recognizes the same church as the compiler responsible for combining it with the statement about the resurrection which originated in the early Aramaic-speaking church, thus producing the two parts of the formula in 1 Cor 15. Moreover, the church appears to have developed the formula and passed it on in several variant forms. (Sometimes "God" remains the subject of the resurrection statement, but at other times the sentence is recast in passive form. This Church also extended the two part formula to include a reference to the scriptures - which one would only expect in a Jewish Christian environment, but it is also extended by adding evidence of particular facts.)

In this way the formula passed into the mainstream of the Jewish Christian Church, and then to the Gentile Church and so eventually reached Paul.

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<sup>30</sup> U. Wilckens, Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte, Neukirchen, 1961, p. 109. Wilckens gives a list of the pattern, e.g. Ac 2.23, 3.15, 4.10.

<sup>31</sup> U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 120.



Although Paul clearly makes the beginning here in 1 Cor 15, he does not make clear where the tradition formula ends. Paul carries the statements further and classes himself among the witnesses to the resurrection. It is certain that v.6 does not belong to the pre-Pauline tradition. V.6b, however, must be regarded as a Pauline interpretation. Yet the text which remains presents no perfect unity, for the parallel *ὅτι* -clauses cease in v.5.<sup>32</sup>

Whatever may be the truth concerning the appearances noted in vv.6a and 7, whether they belong to the tradition from the start or were added later, whether one has here a really chronological series, or whether it is a case of competitive enumerations of the first resurrection witnesses, whether the link with the ancient formula was pre-Pauline or made by him;<sup>33</sup> what is certain is that v.5 belongs to the old formula of confession.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, it must be recognized that despite the formal correspondence in vv.3b and 4a, 4b and 5, the important and primary matter is the correspondence in context. There are four lines<sup>35</sup> of which I and III stand out not only because

<sup>32</sup> cf. E. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 270. n.1.

<sup>33</sup> cf. K. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde", in: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, II*, Tübingen, 1928, pp. 44-67. See also the following literature: C.H. Dodd, "The Appearances of the Risen Christ", in: *Studies in the Gospels*, ed., E. Nineham, Oxford, 1955, pp. 9-36, esp. pp. 27ff. v. Campenhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 13ff., H. Grass, *op. cit.*, pp. 94ff., E.L. Allen, "The Lost Kerygma", *NTStud*, 3, 1956/57, pp. 349-353, P. Winter, "1 Corinthians XV. 3b-7", *NovTest*, 2, 1958, pp. 142-150.

<sup>34</sup> cf. J. Hering, *La première épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Paris, 1949, ET: *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, London, 1962. Hering regards only vv.3b,4 as the sure stock of tradition.

<sup>35</sup> cf. F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, Göttingen, 1963, ET: *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, London, 1969, p. 176:  
I = v.3b,      II = v.4a,      III = v.4b,      IV = v.5, v.6

of the similar motive, that is the scriptural fulfilment, but also by their characteristic and parallel interpretations, whereas II and IV seem to occupy a subordinate and consequential position.<sup>36</sup>

That Jesus appeared to Cephas and the twelve (v.5) is just as unified a statement as v.4a, that is "He was buried." But while the concise statement in line II might imply that beyond the burial there would seem to lie nothing further, v.5 with the reference to witnesses points to the new perspective of history disclosed by the event of the resurrection. The later development in vv.6a, 7 follows quite naturally.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> cf. F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 176. See also, E. Liechtenstein, "Die Älteste christliche Glaubensformel", ZeitKirchGesch, 63, 1950/53, pp. 1-94, esp., pp. 3ff.

<sup>37</sup> W. Michaelis, Die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen, Basel, 1944, argues that the traditional formula ends with καὶ ὅτι ὡφθι in v.5a, and that the list of names was added by Paul himself, on the ground that there are three pairs of witnesses with an individual in each pair, and since Paul must have been responsible for his own name the whole pattern must go back to him. Similarly E. Bammel, "Herkunft und Funktion der Traditionselemente in 1 Kor 15. 1-11.", TheolZeit. 1955, pp. 401-419, esp. pp. 402f.

K.H. Rengstorff (op. cit., p. 54) holds that "he appeared" stands in exact parallel to "he was buried".

A. von Harnack (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg, 1922.) holds that Paul had combined the texts of two rival parties, the appearances to Peter and the twelve from the Peter party, and those to James and to all the apostles from the James party. These two hypotheses appear in a fresh form in the article of E. Bammel (op. cit.) and P. Winter (op. cit.), who both start from an independent four-fold traditional formula ending with "he appeared", to which Paul has added either a) two originally independent lists already known to the Corinthians, the first comprising appearances to an individual, a group and a church, and the second appearances to an individual and a group, both once having some such introduction as "Christ rose and appeared" or b) two lists, both originally threefold, the second of which once read "to James, then to the apostles and to all the brethren", but was reduced by Paul through the omission of the last - named.

Others who postulate a combination of two independent lists are: E. Stauffer: (Jesus and his Story, London, 1960, pp. 121ff.) holds that the combination already had been made at Antioch. U. Wilckens: (Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte, Neukirchen, 1961, pp. 74ff.) holds that the appearance to the brethren was added by Paul from oral tradition. G. Koch: (Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi, Tübingen, 1959) Koch takes the five appearances



One can summarize the investigation so far as follows:

1) Easter traditions existing in the early Christian community are to be classified mainly in two different types: One type follows the pattern of the formula in 1 Cor 15.3ff. and the other that in Ro 10.9. The sermon pattern in Acts is to be differentiated from these.

2) The Sitz im Leben of the form in Ro 10.9 is the early Aramaic-speaking Church. However, the form in 1 Cor 15.3ff., in which Jesus' death was stated expressly and justified, together with the statement about the resurrection, probably took determinate form in the Greek-speaking Jewish Christian Church.

37 (contd.)

as a whole, but sees in the first three the gathering of the church in the persons of those who had already shared in Jesus' earthly ministry (Peter, the twelve, the brethren), and in the last two the symbol of the missionary task of the church towards Israel (James, the apostles-missionaries).

C.F. Evans (Resurrection and the New Testament, London, 1970.) holds that "on the whole, the most satisfactory analysis would seem to be that which sees a break at the beginning of v.6 after 'then to the twelve', marking the point at which Paul begins to supplement a traditional formula with reports of other separate appearances." (See, p. 45-p. 46.)

Regarding τοὺς δώδεκα, G. Klein (Die Zwölf Apostel, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 41ff.), examining 1 Cor 15.5ff. and Gal 1.18 in order to determine Paul's concept of an apostle, comes to the conclusion that it was not confined to the twelve, but included a wider circle, which was not a small one. Its members could be found within the whole Church: e.g. Andronicus and Junius (Ro 16.7). It was not until later that the historical nucleus of the twelve was endowed with the character of the apostleship, whereas at the beginning οἱ ἀπόστολοι and οἱ δώδεκα were different groups. Klein also rejects Harnack's thesis that Paul brought about the gradual restriction of the concept of apostle to the twelve. He emphatically denies that a concept of apostleship existed before Paul and in addition to Paul's and that Paul had any share in developing a concept of the apostolate as an institution. He also rejects Campenhausen's thesis that the association of the twelve with the concept of an apostle came into being only after the apostolic generation had died out, hence in the early post-apostolic era: nor does he accept Schmithals' view that the idea of apostleship had its home in gnostic myth and that it is to be derived from syncretistic Christianity and to be located in Ephesus. He concludes that, since the original link between the apostolate and the institution of the twelve is not historical and is not theologically pertinent in the earliest sources, the origin of the close association is to be sought in Post-Pauline time, viz. the intermediate links between Paul and Luke's two books.

This problem, however, is to be investigated more precisely by tradition-history (See next section).

3) About the limits of the formula in 1 Cor 15.3ff., v.8 does not belong to the pre-Pauline tradition, v.6b is to be regarded as a Pauline interpretation and v.3b-v.5 belongs to the old formula of confession.<sup>38</sup>

Further historical-critical analysis and the investigation of the significance of the formula in 1 Cor 15.3ff. in its historical context are to be clarified more precisely in the next section mainly by means of tradition-history.

<sup>38</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, p. 81:

- I a 1 Kor 15.3: Eine (ursprünglich liturgische ?) Formel über den stellvertretenden Sühnetod Christi für unsere Sünden mit Schriftbeweis:
- b 1 Kor 15.4a: eine Erwähnung der Tatsache des Begräbnisses Jesu:
- c 1 Kor 15.4b: eine kerygmatische Formel aus dem Missionskerygma, auf die Paulus im Zusammenhang des ganzen Abschnittes zentral abzielt:
- II d 1 Kor 15.5: die älteste Legitimationsformel aus den Anfängen der Geschichte der Urgemeinde, die Petrus um der ihm zuteilgewordenen Ersterscheinung des Auferstandenen willen die Führungsrolle im Kreise der durch eine weitere Erscheinung ausgezeichneten Gruppe der "Zwölf" zuspricht:
- e 1 Kor 15.6: eine von Paulus formulierte Zusammenfassung einer Erzählung über eine Erscheinung vor über 500 Brüdern, die ursprünglich wohl die Gründungslegende der Urgemeinde gewesen ist:
- f 1 Kor 15.7: die geltende Legitimationsformel einer etwas späteren Zeit, die dem Herrenbruder Jakobus im Kreise der Apostel führende Autorität zuspricht.



### 3.3 Tradition-history.

F. Hahn classifies the text, 1 Cor 3b-6, into four lines:<sup>39</sup>

- I: (v.3b) ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν  
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,  
II: (v.4a) καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη,  
III: (v.4b) καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ  
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,  
IV: (v.5) καὶ ὅτι ὡφθῇ Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα.  
(v.6) ἔπειτα ὡφθῇ ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ,...

He points out that I and III stand out not only by the common motif of scriptural fulfilment, but also their characteristic and parallel interpretations and also that II and IV occupy a subordinate and consequential position<sup>40</sup>

( ἀπέθανεν — ἐτάφη, ἐγήγερται — ὡφθῇ ).

Here, each line contains its own verb, ἀπέθανεν, ἐτάφη, ἐγήγερται, and ὡφθῇ.

#### ἀπέθανεν

The first ἀπέθανεν is rather important, for it avoids speaking of the "way in which the death took place".<sup>41</sup> Perhaps it was only much later that σταυροῦν became a "gospel word".<sup>42</sup> In the passion story "crucify" occurs several times,

<sup>39</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>40</sup> cf. F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>41</sup> A. Schlatter, Paulus, der Bote Jesu, Stuttgart, 1934, p. 394.

<sup>42</sup> K.H. Schelkle, Die Passion Jesu in der Verkündigung des Neuen Testaments, Heidelberg, 1949, pp. 240ff.

but there it means concretely the mode of execution. Otherwise it is very rare in the non-Pauline tradition. For Paul, it comprises directly the gospel message in contrast to the curse of Dt 21.23 (Ga 3.13) and just because of its character as a σκάνδαλον (1 Cor 1.23). But thinking in terms of such paradoxes is not demonstrable for the oldest church; it may, because of the OT assumption, have avoided the word "crucify" in confession and preaching. Conversely the term, ἀποθνήσκειν, is to be found in many Christological statements, both of Pauline and post-Pauline provenance, but as such it is not a "gospel word". The soteriological function of the death of Jesus was explained in various ways.<sup>43</sup>

ὕπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν

Whether ὕπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν can be understood as a reference to Is 53<sup>44</sup> is disputable. For the oldest passion tradition the necessity of the suffering of Jesus had a significant meaning and to convey this conviction it adopted scriptural proof. The motif of the persecution and killing of God's messengers by the Jews also played a certain part<sup>45</sup> but in both cases the thought of expiation was lacking. F. Hahn postulates that "it was probably only after the church had learned to understand the necessity of the death of Jesus that it

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<sup>43</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953, pp. 47ff. He points out, e.g. ἱλαστήριον. Also he writes (p. 47) that "Endlich ist ihm (Paul) die hier vorliegende Vorstellung von der göttlichen δικαιοσύνη, die eine Sühne für die vordem begangenen Sünden verlangte, sonst fremd. Es liegt also offenbar ein Satz der Tradition vor, der vielleicht auf die Urgemeinde zurückgeführt werden darf."

<sup>44</sup> So, J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1910, p. 348. See also: H. Lietzmann, An die Korinther I und II, (HNT), Tübingen, 1949, p. 77.

<sup>45</sup> cf. STB. 2, pp. 275f., pp. 279-282. Also see, G.F. Moore, Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era, 3 Bde., Cambridge, 1927-1930, Bd. 1, pp. 547-549.



took the further step of asking about the meaning of God's suffering from the point of view of salvation. It then applied to the death of Jesus the motif of vicarious expiatory suffering which was widespread in late Palestinian Judaism."<sup>46</sup> Furthermore Hahn argues<sup>47</sup> that scriptural proof and the motif of expiation regarding the death of Jesus are to be understood to have been developed and handed on to some extent independently of each other. Perhaps, at this early stage Is 53 still played no part. However, gradually the motif of the expiatory death became linked with scriptural proof, and eventually linked with the prophetic chapters of the Old Testament, viz. Is 53.

E. Lohse has pointed out to what an extent the conception of death for one's own sins and as a vicarious atonement was rooted and spread abroad in Palestine in late Judaism.<sup>48</sup> Is 53 is indeed the earliest evidence for the idea of a vicarious expiatory death, nevertheless the conception in all its compass cannot be derived from there but reflects a broader background. Moreover, it needs to be noted that the idea of an atonement "for many (all)" which is characteristic of Is 53 does not appear elsewhere in late Judaism. Nothing is said anywhere of an atoning death having universal validity, the expiatory virtue remains throughout restricted to Israel. This means that Is 53 has independently carried further what was obviously an older motif.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, it has to be observed that the whole of late Judaism consistently avoids reference to Is 53 in its statements about expiation.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 177. Regarding the motif of vicarious atonement attributed to the righteous man in late Judaism see, E. Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht, Göttingen, 1955, pp. 73ff. Also see, R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 177.

<sup>48</sup> E. Lohse, op. cit., pp. 38ff.

<sup>49</sup> E. Lohse, op. cit., p. 106.

<sup>50</sup> E. Lohse, op. cit., p. 107.

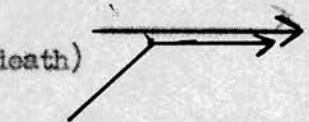
These presuppositions need to be taken into consideration for primitive Christianity. On the one hand, a fairly wide dissemination of the idea of vicarious atonement has to be reckoned with, and on the other hand, the motif of atonement is by no means necessarily connected with Is 53 and consequently does not as a matter of course comprise the idea of vicariously standing surety "for many (all)". This means that such formal phrases about the death of Jesus as "for us (you)" and "for our sins" and the like are not derived from Is 53 but rather assume the conception of atonement that obtained in late Judaism and was fairly generally widespread. Only statements which make mention of a vicarious death "for many" or otherwise make a clear reference to the atonement conception of Is 53 may be brought into connection with that prophetic chapter.

With the combination of reference to expiation and scriptural proof the door was then opened for the adoption of the motif of expiatory suffering on the part of the servant of Jahweh, which, so far as one can see, was completely avoided in Judaism, and in no way combined with assertions about vicarious expiation.<sup>51</sup>

Therefore, it may be inferred that the affirmation of expiatory death is older, that only later was it combined with the motif of congruence with the scriptures, and thus became so firmly fixed as an independent tradition that in this form it exercised continued influence.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>52</sup> Motif of atonement  
(motif of expiatory death)  Motif of expiatory  
suffering of the servant of Jahweh  
Motif of Scripture proof Is 53



κατὰ τὰς γραφάς

It may be clear that *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* does not refer to the scriptural basis for the idea of expiation, and the latter is not intended to be supported in this way. For the affirmation of expiation has its own weight and needs no further legitimization. On the one hand, the dying of Jesus was explained by the thought of scriptural necessity, and on the other, it was explained by this soteriological idea. Therefore, "according to the Scriptures" in line I is to be understood as a reference to the verb, *ἀπέθανεν*, and is to be understood also as a further more precise qualification of the death of Jesus.

What must be taken account of is in what stratum of tradition the motif of scriptural congruity primarily played a part. F. Hahn holds that this was from the outset the passion tradition.<sup>53</sup> The basic thought of the ancient passion story is combined with the soteriological statement about Jesus' death: the suffering and death of Jesus happened according to the will and promise of God, the agony and abandonment of Jesus, his shameful death, lie in the counsel of God and are therefore to be understood in the light of Old Testament prophetic testimony. The *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* is doubtless to be understood as an allusion to it. Two diverse traditions about the death of Jesus are therefore combined here. It is clear that the thought of scriptural fulfilment strongly marks the confession, for this point alone occurs twice in a formula which is extremely compressed.

ἐτάφη

In view of the very terse turn of phrase, merely noting facts, and of the subordination of line II to line I, *ἐτάφη* is to be understood as a confirmation of the death of Jesus, the burial securely affirms the real death of Jesus, and

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<sup>53</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

the vision establishes the really ensuing resurrection.<sup>54</sup>

Granted that v.4a belongs in the context of the statement concerning his death, U. Wilckens argues from the point of view of the history of the tradition, that v.4a, *ὅτι ἐτάφη*, perhaps signifies that certain traditions about Jesus' grave existed in the place from which the formula originally derived its material.<sup>55</sup>

U. Wilckens says that "This cannot be excluded in view of the fact that Paul himself has no concrete knowledge about the empty tomb, nor of the finding of it. For, what Paul himself, and the group in Antioch from whom he received the formula, did not know, and did not associate with the expression *ἐτάφη*, could have been known and handed down in the primitive community, if the content of the Hellenistic Christian formula originally derived from a tradition of the primitive community. 1 Cor 15.4a can in no way be regarded, as has frequently been the case, as an argument that at the time of the writing of 1 Cor the stories about the burial of Jesus and the finding of his empty tomb, which are recorded in Mark 15 and 16, could not yet have existed as such."<sup>56</sup>

No certainty, however, can be obtained from 1 Cor 15 itself, whether or not the expression, *ἐτάφη*, belongs to the tradition about the empty tomb. All one

<sup>54</sup> See: H. Conzelmann, (Grundriss der Theologie des Neuen Testaments, München, 1967. ET: An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament, London, 1969, p. 85): "Some exegetes made a reference to the empty tomb in *ἐτάφη*. But this interpretation is refuted by the fact that *ἐτάφη* is not subordinated to the resurrection, but to the dying." Also, H. Grass, op. cit., pp. 146ff., H. Conzelmann, "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel 1 Kor 15.3-5", EvangTheol. 25, 1965, p. 7, E. Schweizer, op. cit., and also E. Lohse, op. cit., pp. 220ff.

<sup>55</sup> U. Wilckens, "The tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed. C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, p. 58.

<sup>56</sup> U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 58.



could say is that 1 Cor 15.4a is a confirmation of the death of Jesus (*ἀπέθανεν*).

Concerning this problem, L. Goppelt argues in a different way.<sup>57</sup> The indifference, silence concerning the empty tomb in 1 Cor 15 and Acts, has nothing to do with the tradition-history problem at all, but is "sachlich" in origin. The report of the empty tomb might belong to a very early and reliable tradition, even though the character of the tradition is without doubt legendary. According to the statement in the oldest Gospel, the discovery of the empty tomb by the disciples does not form a part of the easter faith, but, as according to Mk 16.8, merely gives rise to fear and astonishment. Further Goppelt says that "the angel's voice, which explains the empty tomb to the women, refers to the easter appearances (Mk 16.6f.). Therefore, the finding of the empty tomb was originally only an ambiguous sign, which prepares for the easter appearances and is only then interpreted by them. In 1 Cor 15.4, the easter kerygma, by the strong expression, 'he was buried', may well presuppose it, but it is not based on this sign of the empty tomb, but rather on the appearances."<sup>58</sup>

However, we shall discuss the problem of the empty tomb tradition and the Pauline easter kerygma again in a later section.

### ἐρήρεται

The *ἐρήρεται* of line III is in the perfect tense. This is by no means normal in the references to the resurrection elsewhere, even the resurrection of Jesus is usually spoken of in the aorist, (cf. Mk 16.6 par. Lk 24.34 Jn 2.22 21.14 Ac 3.15 4.10 5.30 10.40 13.30, 37 Ro 4.24, 25 6.4, 9 7.4, 8, 11, 34 10.9 1 Cor 6.14 15.15 2 Cor 4.14 5.15 Ga 1.1 Eph 1.20 Col 2.12 1 Th 1.10 1 Pe 1.21) and but seldom

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<sup>57</sup> L. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>58</sup> L. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

in the perfect tense (cf. 1 Cor 15.4, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20 2 Tm 2.8). K.H. Rengstorff<sup>59</sup> renounces any attempt to discover in this an essential differentiation and regards the two tenses, viz. the aorist and perfect tenses, as mere translation variants. It seems, however, questionable to regard the two tenses as translation variants, for, as F. Hahn views it, "At least in the Greek text of 1 Cor 15.3-5 the perfect tense has a clear function to perform: in contradistinction to the testimony to the resurrection event alone, there is here also a reference to the repercussions of the easter miracle."<sup>60</sup> Perhaps it might be discerned that by this means lines III and IV are closely bound together (cf. Mk 16.4). The passive, as is frequent in Jewish tradition, is in this case circumlocutory, drawing a veil over the action of God.

The same thing can be noticed also in testimonies to the Easter event, for "He was raised up (has been raised up)" alternates almost regularly with "God raised Him up". (ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν - in Ac (346 above), many in Ro, e.g. 4.24 8.11 10.9 1 Cor 6.4 2 Cor 4.14 Ga 1.1 Eph 1.20 Col 2.12 1 Th 1.10 1 Pe 1.21). In this respect the use of ἤγειρεν is distinguished from that of the intransitive verb, ἀναστῆναι. Perhaps for this reason the use of the verb, ἤγειρεν increasingly prevailed.

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ

That the formula, apart from the affirmation of the resurrection in the perfect tense, was concerned to emphasize the once-for-all character of the event,

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<sup>59</sup> K.H. Rengstorff, *op. cit.*, pp. 54f.: "Angesichts dessen wird jeder Versuch einer Differenzierung von ἤγειρεν und ἤγερθη lediglich nach grammatischen Gesichtspunkten fragwürdig. Das gilt erst recht, wenn das Ueberlieferungsstück wirklich auf eine semitische Vorlage zurückgeht."

<sup>60</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 180.



is shown by the addition τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ.<sup>61</sup>

It is widespread in the early Easter kerygma in two versions: "on the third day" and "after three days". There may be no difference in the meaning. Attempts at explanation are:

1) The first appearances took place at this time.<sup>62</sup>

2) The phrase refers to the time of the discovery of the empty tomb. On the other hand, however, the information is earlier than the legends about the tomb.<sup>63</sup>

3) The information has been conjured up out of the fact that the Christians used to assemble on the first day of the week.<sup>64</sup> Precisely, however, the reverse process is more probable: This day became the day for assembly because it was regarded as the day of the resurrection.<sup>65</sup>

4) There are parallels in the history of religions, e.g. the idea that the soul remained in the neighbourhood of the body for three days. The analogy is vague.<sup>66</sup>

5) The information is taken from scripture. If, however, one asks what scriptural passage is involved, confusion abounds. There is, of course, an explicit scriptural proof from Jon 2.1 in Mt 12.40. This passage, however, is late in the tradition. Nor can the formula "on the third day" be derived from it,

<sup>61</sup> cf. F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 180. cf. U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 58: "... it is certain that it is intended to give the date of the event of his raising as such, and not of his first appearance."

<sup>62</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>63</sup> H. v. Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 11f.

<sup>64</sup> W. Rordorf, Der Sonntag, Zürich, 1962, ET: Sunday, London, 1968.

<sup>65</sup> cf. H. Grass, op. cit., pp. 127ff.

<sup>66</sup> cf. C. Clemen, Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments, Giessen, 1909, pp. 100ff., ET: Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish sources, Edinburgh, 1912.

because it does not correspond with the details of the quotation: *τρεις ἡμέρας*  
*καὶ τρεῖς ρύκτας* . Others refer to Hos 6.2:<sup>67</sup> *ὕψωσει ἡμῶς μετὰ δύο*  
*ἡμέρας, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἀναστήσονται καὶ ἑστήσονται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,...* (LXX).

According to F. Hahn's conjecture, "the motif of 'the third day' was combined with witness to the resurrection before scriptural proof had been made use of in such a context, a fact which becomes especially clear from the tradition about the suffering and resurrected Son of Man."<sup>68</sup> Further Hahn conjectures that scriptural proof was originally used only in view of the suffering of Jesus.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, London, 1961. Similarly recently H.K. McArthur ("On the Third Day", *NTStud.* Vol. 8, Oct., 1971, London, No. 1) says (p. 86) that "I conclude, therefore, that Hos 6.2 was the outstanding, single scriptural passage behind the 'on the third day' tradition, although the phrase 'according to the Scriptures' in 1 Cor 15.4 may have been based on the general 'third day' motif which the Rabbis found in numerous passages and not exclusively in Hos. 6.2." D. Hill suggests that the scriptural reference in 1 Cor 15.4 is not to Hos 6.1-2, as often proposed, but to Ps 16.8-11(LXX), by way of the popular Jewish belief that corruption set in only after the third day. (D. Hill, "On the third Day", *ExpTimes.* 78. 1967, pp. 266-267.)

J. Wijngaards ("Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos 6.2)," *VetTest* 17. 1967, pp. 226-239) suggests that the notion of resurrection derives from covenantal terminology and argues as follows: Neither Canaanite fertility-cult language nor the idea of recovery from illness satisfactorily explains Hos 6.2. A series of examples from ancient Near Eastern texts show that dethroning a king was often called "killing" him and restoring a vassal to favour was called "raising him to life." The latter expression connotes dispensing fertility and prosperity to the people. In Hos 6.1-3 this background is reflected: Yahweh will "raise" his people when "on the third day" he will renew his covenant with them. There is evidence that the covenant practices were still known in New Testament times and applied to the New Covenant. Thus Hos 6.2 may well be the reference in 1 Cor 15.4 and elsewhere.

<sup>68</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 180: "The early version of the words about the suffering and rising of the Son of Man in Mk 9.31 is independent of the scripture proof, but it contains the *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*."

<sup>69</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 180, n. 353: "This is shown by the early passion tradition in contrast to the Easter tradition: cf. Mk 16.1ff., parr. Further it is shown by the short formulae about the suffering Son of Man Mk 14.21, 41. In Mk 8.31 the *ἀναστήσεται* is certainly dependent on the previous *σεῖ*, but actually it is only loosely connected with it. 1 Cor 15.4 is the first to repeat the idea of conformity to Scripture in its statement of the Resurrection."



ὡφθῆ<sup>70</sup>

Harnack frequently and rightly emphasized that the syntactical structure of v.5 and v.7 is the same. Whereas v.6 is clearly formulated by Paul, who is using the traditional story of an appearance to more than five hundred as part of an argument for the purpose of his debate with the Church at Corinth, vv.5 and 7 are in a fixed form, which Paul probably received with this wording.<sup>71</sup> In each case the name of an individual comes first, and is followed by a group. If one can assume here the interpretation of the appearances described above, this means that both sentences describe a relationship of authority, and what one has here are "legitimation formulae".<sup>72</sup> "He (Christ) appeared to Cephas, then to the Twelve" simultaneously signifies that Peter is the first in the circle of the twelve. The same is true of v.7: James is the first in the circle of all the apostles. Harnack and others after him tried to see in this evidence of a rivalry between Peter and James. This thesis, however, has been widely rejected and rightly so. There was, nevertheless, something correct in Harnack's observation: the two sentences express the validity of an authority, and are presumably evidence of two different situations in the history of the Church within the primitive community, each of which can be recognized in the Epistle to the Galatians, Philippians and also in the Acts of Apostles (e.g. Ga 2.9 Ac 2.14).

Χριστὸς

The formula 1 Cor 15.3b-5 is linked to Χριστὸς used without the article. At first sight it looks as if this would only be possible where the use as a

<sup>70</sup> See: pp. 49ff.

<sup>71</sup> U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963. p.71.

<sup>72</sup> U. Wilckens, op. cit., pp. 63ff.

proper name had already become established. Could such a mode of speech, without the article and without express identification with Jesus, have been possible in the sphere of Palestinian Judaism?

Concerning this problem again F. Hahn's argument<sup>73</sup> should be referred to: "It is to be noted once more that in the combination of the Christos title with the passion tradition, we see the effect of a completely new initiative. On the basis of the fact that Jesus was crucified as 'King of the Jews', there arose a marked Christianized interpretation of the idea of royal messianism. The idea that the Messiah must suffer is made also part of the conception: the thought of the necessity of this suffering according to the scriptures stands in the background, but is in part directly expressed. In the association of the Christos title with the confessional tradition concerning the suffering and resurrection of Jesus, the thought of expiation was also adopted, a thought which was absent from the old account of the suffering and from one part of the later passion tradition (1 Cor 15.3b-5). The Palestinian outlook clearly reflected both in the details and in the whole, shows in regard to Christology a real continuity with the Hellenistic church tradition. The strong influence of the pattern is traceable up to the later New Testament tradition. Here 'Christos' has retained its secure place within the stratum of tradition, nor has its titular meaning been given up. Hence the tradition to its use as a proper name is not to be explained from within this historical context."<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>74</sup> cf. W. Kramer, Christos, Kyrios, Gottessohn, Zürich, 1963. ET: Christ, Lord, Son of God, London, 1966, p. 61: "The title Christ, translating *M<sup>e</sup>šīḥa*, presented itself to the Hellenistic Jewish Christians as a term which would clearly indicate the eschatological status of Jesus. Therefore it is by far the most likely that Christ was linked with the statement about the death by Greek-speaking Jewish Christians."



Hahn concludes as follows: "It is clear that the last broadening of the Christianized messianic idea, making possible an application to the work of Jesus as a whole, first took place in the sphere of the early Hellenistic church which assimilated to messianism the tradition of the earthly Jesus as the new Moses and the eschatological prophet. In this way 'Christos' could in particular be brought into connection with the miraculous work of Jesus also. This led to a use of 'Christos' and 'Son of God' in a similar sense. However, the use of the Son of God predicate soon gained the ascendancy, with the result that 'Christos' increasingly faded and finally was congealed as a proper name."<sup>75</sup>

### ὅτι... καὶ...

What is striking in this formula is the several times repeated and cumulative ὅτι... καὶ ὅτι... καὶ.... In a hymn such a ὅτι would in any case be disturbing, whereas in a confessional statement it marks the firm and obligatory article of faith. Especially in connection with πιστεύομεν, οἶδαμεν, etc., stereotyped turns of phrase introduced by ὅτι are particularly frequent (cf. Ro 6.9, 10.9 1 Th 4.14 Jas 2.19 1 Jn 5.1,5), and the same applies also to the continuity effected by the traditional technical terms παράλαμβάνειν and παράδοδόναι.

Thus there is certainly the possibility of regarding ὅτι as suitable in style and of interpreting its regular repetition in the line of the credal statement as vigorously emphasizing the various points affirmed.

It must be asked, however, why in such a formula, handed on as a unity,

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<sup>75</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., pp. 192f.

the introduction by a single *ὅτι* is not sufficient. The only comparable parallel text 1 Th 4.14ff., ...*πιστεύομεν ὅτι ... καὶ ... λέγομεν ... ὅτι ... καὶ ...*, shows that the enumeration there was not a unity originally and was thus co-ordinated by Paul himself. This cannot be said of 1 Cor 15.3b-5, on account of the very technical and formal structure, and the unPauline features. Perhaps, most probably, as U. Wilckens sees it,<sup>76</sup> the repeated *ὅτι* could be an indication that in the pre-Pauline period a number of confessional formulae originally independent were fused together.

#### Summary:

1 Cor 15.3b-5 presents a comprehensive formula, which despite its ancient date cannot have stood right at the start of the development. One sign of this is the repeated *ὅτι* : a further sign is that the *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* has so emphatically been added in two places, and not least significant is the fact that to the confession of the death and resurrection of Jesus have been joined statements about his burial and appearances.

In the formula 1 Cor 15.3b-5, which is a representative formula showing a specific Christological conception, the tradition of the passion story, which in the main sought only to overcome the scandal of Jesus' way of suffering, has absorbed into itself independent soteriological statements together with the message of the resurrection, and adopted the Christos title. Thus there occurs on Palestinian soil a further significant idea in addition to the Son of Man idea and the view of Jesus as Lord. The Son of Man Christology played the decisive part in the earliest times, and it may also be asserted that it was probably

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<sup>76</sup> U. Wilckens, Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte, Neukirchen, 1963, pp. 73ff.



reproduced in the Hellenistic Church. It should be noted that this Christological conception most of all makes one aware of the continuity between the Palestinian and the Hellenistic Church traditions.

This hypothesis is also supported by the investigation of the expressions, *ὅπερ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, ἐτάφη* and so on. These expressions show a continuity with the Palestinian outlook in view of the tradition of the passion story. These traditions which circulated in the Palestinian community, however, were not fixed yet in a determined confessional form. Probably it is only in Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity that these traditions became fixed in a confessional determined form together with its interpretative expansion. When the formula was taken over by Gentile Christianity, its wording remained unchanged but "Christ" came more and more to be regarded merely as the name of the person to whom the events stated in the formula had happened. It was, perhaps, at this stage that the formula reached Paul.

The next subject to be investigated is the function and significance of the confessional form in view of the whole context of the Epistle.

### 3.4 Problems of the christological doctrine in the Corinthian Church.

- A. A brief critical survey of the recent studies on Gnosticism in the Pauline congregations.

A recent discussion concerning the problem of the prevailing christological doctrine in the Corinthian Church opened with the publication by W. Schmithals, of a monograph on gnosticism in Corinth.<sup>77</sup> This was followed by articles treating

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<sup>77</sup> Die Gnosis in Korinth, Göttingen, 1956.

Galatians,<sup>78</sup> Philippians,<sup>79</sup> the letter to the Ephesians<sup>80</sup> attached to Romans as Chapter 16, and the Pauline Corpus in general.<sup>81</sup>

Schmithals provides a solution to the problems of primitive Christianity, comparable to the hypothesis of F.C. Baur, who saw everything in terms of the struggle of Paul with the Judaizers. However, with Schmithals the Judaizers are replaced by Jewish gnostics, a variant already proposed by W. Lütgert.<sup>82</sup>

One of the criticisms of Schmithals' thesis is that he, like Baur, overstates his case, and thus tends to discredit the truth of his position. In the first place, he presupposes in an uncritical way the Bultmannian solution of the gnostic problem, centered in the pre-Christian origin of the gnostic redeemer myth. It is, however, still problematic whether or not this presupposition is proper. The presupposition cannot be validated simply by allusion to Reitzenstein. C. Colpe<sup>83</sup> proposes that although various ingredients of gnosticism are pre-Christian the gnostic redeemer myth presupposes the docetic interpretation of Christ.<sup>84</sup> However, R. Rudolph<sup>85</sup> has made a new defence of the pre-Christian origin of the Mandeans,

<sup>78</sup> "Die Häretiker in Galatien", ZeitNTWiss, 47, 1956, pp. 25-67.

<sup>79</sup> "Die Irrlehrer des Philipperbriefes", ZeitTheolKirch, 54, 1957, pp. 279-341.

<sup>80</sup> "Die Irrlehrer von Röm 16.17-20", StudTheol, 13, 1959, pp. 51-69.

<sup>81</sup> "Zur Abfassung und Ältesten Sammlung der paulinischen Hauptbriefe", ZeitNTWiss, 51, 1960, pp. 225-245.

<sup>82</sup> Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth, Gütersloh, 1908.

<sup>83</sup> Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule; Bd. I: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösmythos, Göttingen, 1961.

<sup>84</sup> "Gnosis I Religionsgeschichtlich", RGK(3), 2, cols. 1648-1652.

<sup>85</sup> Die Mandäer, 2 Bde, Göttingen, 1960-1961.



including their mythology in the Jordan valley. One of the recent surveys of the immense literature on these problems of comparative religion by S. Schulz<sup>86</sup> leads more or less to a non liquet: "Hasty alternatives in this case do not at all bring us further" (p. 334). In view of this situation, Schmithals' doctrinaire presupposition of the view of a generation ago does not inspire confidence, but rather concern.

The other aspect of Schmithals' thesis on gnosticism in the Pauline congregation which raises questions, is the claim that in each Pauline congregation one has to deal with precisely the same gnostic movement. Apart from the fact that this monolithic assumption hardly seems probable in view of the wide diversity in Hellenistic syncretism and within gnosticism itself, Schmithals' position is often argued in such a way that his thesis is based upon rather invisible evidence imbedded in the Pauline epistles.

D. Georgi<sup>87</sup> argues that the heresy reflected in 2 Corinthians was a quite distinct movement from that confronted in 1 Corinthians, and H. Köster<sup>88</sup> presents a differentiated statement of the nature of the heresy confronted in the various Pauline congregations. Galatians confronts "Judaizers" of an "Oriental-syncretistic" type from the "Hellenistic diaspora": 2 Corinthians also opposes "Hellenistic,"<sup>89</sup> but non-gnostic Jewish Christians" who envisage themselves, and Jesus, along the

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<sup>86</sup> "Die Bedeutung neuer Gnosisfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft", TheolRund, 26, 1960-61, pp. 209-266, pp. 301-334.

<sup>87</sup> Die Gegner des Paulus in 2 Kor. 2.14-7.4 und 10-13, Heidelberg, 1959.

<sup>88</sup> "Häretiker im Urchristentum", RGK(3), 3, cols. 17-21.

<sup>89</sup> cf. C.K. Barrett, "Paul's Opponents in II Corinthians", NewTStud, 17, 1971, pp. 233ff.

line of a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* : in contrast 1 Corinthians opposes a party whose members were "certainly gnostics": "Jewish Christian gnostics" are opposed in Philippians and Colossians.<sup>90</sup>

The discussion has made most progress particularly with regard to 1 Corinthians, since different scholars have thrown light upon different parts of the Corinthian situation, which are now brought together into a unified picture. Already Reitzenstein<sup>91</sup> had drawn attention to the fact that Paul is presenting his argument in gnostic terms when he distinguishes in 2.6-3.1 between "psychics" on the one hand and "pneumatics" or "the perfect" on the other; and Bultmann has long insisted that what the pneumatics, in distinction from the psychics, know in 2.6ff. presupposes knowledge of the gnostic redeemer myth.<sup>92</sup> J. Schniewind shows that Paul argued on two points, on the one side against the teaching of 2 Tim 2.18 and on the other against denial of the bodily resurrection of Jesus.<sup>93</sup>

Hans von Soden has shown<sup>94</sup> that the excesses at the Lord's Supper did not grow out of a reduction of the sacrament to a common meal, but quite the reverse: One assumed that if one had the magical power of the sacrament, one need not concern oneself with such earthly details as one's human relationships. Schmithals argues<sup>95</sup> that the passage in 1 Corinthians 12.3 regarding testing the spirits is

<sup>90</sup> Regarding this problem, see: e.g., H. Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1969, pp. 28ff.

<sup>91</sup> e.g. R. Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, Leipzig, 1927.

<sup>92</sup> See his Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953, ET: Theology of the New Testament, 2 Vols., London, 1952-1955, I., p. 175. Similarly, E. Hähnchen, "Gnosis und NT", RGK(3), 2, col. 1652.

<sup>93</sup> See his Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze, Berlin, 1952.

<sup>94</sup> "Sakrament und Ethik bei Paulus", in: Urchristentum und Geschichte, I., 1951 pp. 239-276.

<sup>95</sup> Die Gnosis in Korinth, Göttingen, 1956, pp. 45ff.



best explained on the assumption that Paul's opponents were so caught up in the worship of the heavenly Christ that they could express their scorn of all things earthly by damning the earthly Jesus. That is, "no one speaking in the spirit of God says 'Jesus be damned', and no one is able to say 'Jesus is Lord' except in the Holy Spirit" - this statement is to be interpreted in terms of 1 Jn 4.2b-3: "Every spirit which confesses Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit which does not confess Jesus, is not from God." This explanation of the ecstatic exclamation "Jesus be damned" is the argument of Schmithals which D. Georgi regards as "the most successful and also the most important in the whole book."<sup>96</sup>

U. Wilckens<sup>97</sup> argues that the Christology of the Corinthian heretics grew out of Jewish wisdom literature with its personification of "Wisdom", "Sophia", for example, 1 Enoch 42.2: "When Sophia came to dwell with men and found no abode, Sophia returned to her place and took her seat among the angels." It was, according to the Corinthians, this pre-existent Sophia, who in vain had spoken through the prophets, who spoke through Jesus and was again rejected by everyone; everyone that is except the gnostics. "In the know" with this Wisdom above, the gnostics can disdain earthly existence and have no need in their theology or their lives for the cross. It may at first sight seem impossible that persons who called themselves Christians could develop such a Christology. Yet if one places oneself mentally back into the situation of a highly speculative congregation which did not have our Gospels but had at most, a picture of Jesus from the stage which the synoptic tradition had reached around 50. A.D., then such a misunderstanding

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<sup>96</sup> VuF, 1958/59, 1960, p. 91.

<sup>97</sup> Weisheit und Torheit, Tübingen, 1959. See also, "Sophia", in: ThW VII, pp. 465ff.

is at least possible.

Having thus briefly looked at some of the important proposals concerning the general background of the Church in Corinth, one may now look particularly at the problem of 1 Cor. 15 in the light of the various theses indicated so far.

B. Some important problems and their presuppositions in 1 Corinthians  
15 I. ff.

In order to have a proper interpretation of 1 Cor 15.1ff., one must examine the following presuppositions concerning the understanding of the resurrection in the Corinthian Church.

(1) All interpretations which hold that 1 Cor 15.1-11 testifies to an actual resurrection are based upon the presupposition that in the Corinthian Church any possibility of the resurrection was doubted generally:<sup>98</sup> ἀνάστασις

νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν (v. 12).

(2) Another presupposition is that Paul tried to proclaim the probability and reality of the resurrection in the future by means of a series of witnesses, which implies witnesses to the fact that Jesus had really risen.<sup>99</sup>

In this case, one may say that a series of witnesses provided testimony to the fact that one man had been raised, and if one had been then all would be. Thus the general denial of the possibility of resurrection was confronted - and refuted by an instance of it.

<sup>98</sup> cf. H. Lietzmann, An die Korinther I und II, (HNT 9), Tübingen, 1949, p. 79, W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 71. Similarly, H. Conzelmann, "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel 1 Kor 15.3-5", EvangTheol, 25, 1965, p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> cf. I. Hermann, Kyrios und Pneuma, München, 1961, p. 114, and J. Weiss, Der erste Korintherbrief, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1910, p. 345.



(3) It has been often presupposed, also, that Paul did not understand properly the Corinthians' doctrine at the time<sup>100</sup> when he wrote the letter to them, consequently his arguments were not relevant.<sup>101</sup>

With regard to the examination of these presuppositions it is necessary to undertake a careful analysis of the understanding of the resurrection prevailing in the Corinthian Church.

If one presupposes that the Corinthians denied only the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, but not the resurrection of Jesus,<sup>102</sup> then the question how the Corinthians represented the resurrection of Jesus without accepting any probability of the resurrection of the dead will be raised.<sup>103</sup> If that is the case, Paul should have made it clear to this congregation first of all that they actually denied the resurrection of Christ also,<sup>104</sup> (cf. v.12b), that is, they had

<sup>100</sup> cf. J.C. Hurd, The Origin of 1 Corinthians, London, 1965, pp. 195f.

<sup>101</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953, p. 172. Similarly, W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>102</sup> So the following literature: K. Deissner, Auferstehungshoffnung und Pneumagedanke bei Paulus, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 16f., H. Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 79, A.T. Nikolainen, Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt. II Neutestamentlicher Teil, Helsinki, 1946, p. 174, J. Weiss, op. cit., p. 354, A. Schlatter, Op. cit., p. 404, p. 410, J. Schniewind, "Die Leugner der Auferstehung in Korinth", in: Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze, Berlin, 1952 p. 111, p. 113, U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, p. 58, p. 61, n. 11.

<sup>103</sup> cf. W. Grundmann, "Ueberlieferung und Eigenaussage im eschatologischen Denken des Apostels Paulus", NTStud., 8, 1961/62, p. 15.

<sup>104</sup> cf. U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 62. Wilckens argues that, <sup>the</sup> Corinthians understood the resurrection of Jesus in terms of the hellenistic "Epiphanievorstellung" and that Paul refutes it in v.12.

no understanding of the salvation meaning of the resurrection of Jesus.

However, if the Corinthians doubted the resurrection of Jesus<sup>105</sup> too, then it might be possible to understand that Paul would have tried to prove the resurrection of Jesus to them in these verses. It is not clear, however, whether this understanding is right or not, for in this case it would be quite impossible to speak of "the Christians" in Corinth at all and furthermore difficult to understand why Paul concerned himself to such an extent with those Gentiles.

Some scholars propose that the Corinthians were opposed to the "Jewish materialistic idea" of the resurrection<sup>106</sup> and advocated the idea of the ascension of the immortal soul<sup>107</sup> (Himmelfahrt des unsterblichen Seele).

Paul could argue about the subject of the "Jewish materialistic resurrection

<sup>105</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 74, pp. 62ff., pp. 67ff.

<sup>106</sup> cf. J. Weiss, op. cit., pp. 344ff. Regarding the problem of the Jewish materialistic idea, see the following literature: W. Bousset-H. Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, Tübingen, 1926, pp. 269-274, P. Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, Tübingen, 1934, pp. 229-256, A.T. Nikolainen, op. cit., pp. 148-197, STB, Bd., IV, 1928, pp. 1166-1198, U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, pp. 86ff.

<sup>107</sup> So, H. Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 79, R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 172, J. Schniewind, op. cit., p. 134.

For the gnostic background of this problem, see the following literature, H. Jonas, Gnosis und spätantiker Geist, I. Die mythologische Gnosis, 1954, pp. 205-210, W.G. Kümmel bei H. Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 192. Kümmel disputes the fact that the Corinthians accepted the immortality of Soul. Against this: W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 72. Against Schmithals, see, J. Schniewind, op. cit., p. 110.



idea"<sup>108</sup> if it was necessary. Obviously, however, Paul had no interest in this discussion. Moreover, he clearly refused such a "materialism": σὰρξ καὶ

αἶμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομεῖν οὐ δύναται (v.50).<sup>109</sup>

J. Weiss<sup>110</sup> and H. Grass<sup>111</sup> make it clear, that regarding the resurrection,

Paul distinguished his own from the Jewish conception. The impression that Paul defends the Jewish-materialistic resurrection idea in 1 Cor may be the result of confusion between ἀνάστασις τῆς σαρκὸς and ἀνάστασις τοῦ σώματος, which is found throughout the Pauline anthropology. However, according to 1 Cor 15.35ff.,

<sup>108</sup> cf. P. Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, Tübingen, 1901, p. 109: "Paulus kämpft für das alte jüdische Auferstehungsdogma...., und zugleich bricht er ihm, den Griechen zulieb, die Spitze ab durch die Preisgabe des alten Leibes." J. Mánek, "The New Exodus of the Book of Luke", *NovTest* II, 1958, p. 279: "If he (Paul) had understood the resurrection of Christ as purely spiritual event, he could not have come into conflict with the Corinthians." See C.K. Barrett, "New Testament Eschatology", *ScotJournTheol*, VI, 1953, p. 144. "His epistles are almost as different from the apocalypses in content as they are in form. The sense of expectancy with which Paul looked for a future consummation is combined in his epistles with an intense spiritual life lived in the present, and with a concentrated attention focused upon events in the past - the life, death and resurrection of Jesus regarded as the fulfilment of prophecy and the completion of the Old Testament." cf. E. Käsemann, "Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik", *ZeitTheoKirch*, 59, 1962, pp. 278ff.

<sup>109</sup> cf. J. Jeremias, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God", *NTStud*, II, 1955/56, pp. 151-159,; See also the following literature: R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 199, H. v. Campenhausen, *Die Begründung kirchlicher Entscheidungen beim Apostel Paulus*, Heidelberg, 1957, p. 28, n. 59. Against this, J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 377, also A.T. Nikolainen, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>110</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 345, cf. H. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Similarly, A. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

<sup>111</sup> *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, Göttingen, 1962, p. 152. See also, R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

it is obvious that only ἀνάστασις τοῦ σώματος<sup>112</sup> is Pauline. Paul defends at most the general bodily resurrection against the Corinthians,<sup>113</sup> therefore he refers to the bodily resurrection of Jesus.

Schniewind<sup>114</sup> holds that Paul depended upon the bodily character of the resurrection of Jesus, for all salvation depends on him. The opponents in the Corinthian Church opposed this "Leiblichkeitseschatologie",<sup>115</sup> for to them "σάρξ-character of Jesus was a stumbling block of the first magnitude".<sup>116</sup> Schniewind, however, does not make it clear, how the rejection of the bodily resurrection of Jesus and the verse 2 Tm 2.18, ἀνάστασιν ἥδη γεγονέναι, that was, according to his understanding, the centre of the Corinthians' resurrection doctrine, are connected with each other.<sup>117</sup> Schniewind holds that Paul argued on two points, on the one side against the teaching that is found in 2 Tm 2.18, and on the other side against the denial of the bodily resurrection of Jesus, but by understanding it in this way, Schniewind eventually fails to have a comprehensive understanding of the problem based on 2 Tm 2.18. Moreover, there is no single piece of evidence

<sup>112</sup> cf. O. Cullmann, "Unsterblichkeit der Seele und Auferstehung der Toten. Das Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments", *TheolZeit*, 12, 1956, p. 147, W. Bieder, "Auferstehung des Fleisches oder des Leibes?" *TheolZeit*, 1, 1945, pp. 105ff.,

<sup>113</sup> cf. E. Schweizer, *ThW* VII, pp. 128ff.

<sup>114</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 111, pp. 121f.; See also, H.W. Bartsch, "Die Argumentation des Paulus in 1 Cor 15.3-11", *ZeitNTWiss*, 55, 1964, p. 269, n. 19.

<sup>115</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>116</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>117</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 67, p. 70.



in vv.1ff. that gives any legitimacy to Schniewind's exegesis: that is, for instance, that Paul indicated the bodily resurrection<sup>118</sup> of Jesus by the term *ἀνάστασις*.

Then, what did Paul try to imply to the Corinthians in 1 Cor 15.1ff?<sup>119</sup> No satisfactory indications about this question have been given by the exegesis mentioned so far.<sup>120</sup>

### C. Difference between the christology of Paul and the Corinthians.

The question of the Corinthians' concept of the resurrection is to be answered only in the framework of the discussion about Christology.

This section will deal with the important thesis put forward by J. Schniewind, W. Schmithals and U. Wilckens, who have contributed to a clearer recognition of the Corinthians' theology by their exegetical works.<sup>121</sup>

- 1) W. Schmithals makes it clear in his book that *ἀνάστασις Ἰησοῦς* in 1 Cor

<sup>118</sup> Schniewind argues (Op. cit., p. 122): "Endlich aber wird die somatische Auferstehung Jesu, an anderer Stelle unseres Briefes ausdrücklich verkündet, in unserem Kapitel wie selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt." Against this, K. Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen, Neukirchen, 1962, pp. 65f.

<sup>119</sup> cf. J. Weiss, op. cit., p. 345: "So kämpft er gewissermassen gegen zwei Fronten: gegen die rein spiritualistische Lehre von der körperlosen Fortexistenz der Seele, aber auch gegen die materialistische der Auferstehung der begraben Körper."

<sup>120</sup> cf. H. Grass, op. cit., pp. 148ff. Grass gives a survey of the various exegesis so far.

<sup>121</sup> J. Schniewind, op. cit., W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 45ff., U. Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit, Tübingen, 1959.

12.3 which was spoken in pneumatic ecstasy is obviously a gnostic proposition.<sup>122</sup> In this verse the problem involves only baptized Christians,<sup>123</sup> and there arises from this verse "the paradoxical fact that for the people in 1 Cor, it was not a contradiction to make the confession, *κύριος Χριστός*, and to make the declaration, *ἀνὰ θεοῦ Ἰησοῦς*."<sup>124</sup> Schmithals conjectures "eine doketische Christologie", which one may recognize in 1 Jn 2.22, 4.2f.,<sup>125</sup> in the background of this curse. It is the doctrine of the Gnostics to refuse a close connection between the heavenly pneumatic Christ and the man Jesus.<sup>126</sup> The sharp differentiation between the man Jesus and the heavenly pneumatic Christ in the minds of the Corinthian Christians brought about the cursing of the earthly Jesus.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> See also, W. Lütgert, Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeist in Korinth, Gütersloh, 1908, p. 75: "Das Kreuz scheint ihnen nur die Verhüllung der Herrlichkeit Christi zu sein. Offenbar ist sie erst in dem Erhöhten, der der Geist ist.", and p. 103: "Das Kreuz Christi ist nach Meinung der Gemeinde nicht geeignet, eine Quelle und ein Gegenstand der Weisheit zu sein." cf. A. Schlatter, Die korinthische Theologie, Gütersloh, 1914, pp. 87ff.; Also, E. Haenchen, Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums, Berlin, 1961, p. 71: "Diese korinthische Gnosis ist...durch eine falsche Auslegung der paulinischen Predigt entstanden."

<sup>123</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

<sup>124</sup> W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

<sup>125</sup> cf. H. Braun, Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, Tübingen, 1962, pp. 238ff., W. Nauck, Die Tradition und der Charakter des ersten Johannesbriefes, Tübingen, 1957, pp. 124f. See also, R. Bultmann, RGK(3), 3, cols. 837f.

<sup>126</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 48. Against this, W. Kramer, Christos, Kyrios, Gottessohn, Zürich, p. 200.

<sup>127</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 49. See also, H. Schniewind, op. cit., p. 115; "(Diese christliche Gnosis) unterscheidet offenbar schon den *ἀνὰ Χριστός*, den Geistchristus, vom *κύριος Ἰησοῦς*, dem irdischen Jesus, sie verachtet Jesu Niedrigkeit, das Kreuz, das Herrenmahl." Against this, H. Conzelmann, "Zur Analyse der Bekenntnisformel 1 Kor 15.3-5", EvangTheol. 25, 1965, pp. 1-11, ET: "On the Analysis of the Confessional Formula in 1 Corinthians 15.3-5", Interpretation, 1960, 20, pp. 15-25.



W. Schmithals' argument is right in its general thesis,<sup>128</sup> though in detailed points not acceptable. One of the points made clear by him is that it is characteristic of the gnostic christology to identify the redeemer with the redeemed, viz. the gnostics.<sup>129</sup> This identification played a decisive role in the Corinthian Church.<sup>130</sup> The identification provides a mythological basis for the denial of the earthly Jesus and his cross.<sup>131</sup> The salvation event can exist for them only in the identity with the redeemer and this is objectified in mythological form as the ascension of the soul into the kingdom of perfection.<sup>132</sup>

2) U. Wilckens removes some of the deficiencies of Schmithals' presentation and enlarges his fundamental thesis in a positive way. He holds that there was a fundamental controversy over Christology between Paul and the Gnostics in Corinth.<sup>133</sup> The Corinthians understood the crucified Jesus merely as a transient phase that

<sup>128</sup> Against this, e.g., D. Georgi, op. cit., pp. 90-96, C. Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule, Göttingen, 1961, p. 42, pp. 63f., p. 140, n. 5, p. 149, n. 7, p. 175, n. 1., E. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, Neukirchen, 1962, p. 12, n. 7., p. 76, n. 4, pp. 132f., p. 155, J.M. Robinson, "Basic Shifts in German Theology", Interpretation, XVI, 1962, pp. 79ff.; And Colpe is in turn criticised by the following scholars: S. Schulz, "Die Bedeutung neuer Gnosisfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft", TheolRund, 26, 1960, pp. 223-228, K. Rudolph, Die Religionsgeschichte an der Leipziger Universität und die Entwicklung der Religionswissenschaft, Berlin, 1962, G. Widengren, "Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule und der iranische Erlösungsglaube", OrLitZeit, 58, 1963, pp. 533-548, R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem, London, 1958, R.M. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, New York, 1959.

<sup>129</sup> W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 82-134, cf. K. Käsemann, Leib und Leib Christi, Tübingen, 1933, pp. 65-69. R. Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis der Johannesevangeliums" ZeitNTWiss, 24, 1925, pp. 100ff.

<sup>130</sup> W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 158-183.

<sup>131</sup> W. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 56ff.

<sup>132</sup> cf. H. Schlier, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen, Giessen, 1929, pp. 136-140.

<sup>133</sup> Weisheit und Torheit, p. 20.

belonged to the past,<sup>134</sup> and thus they denied him. To say that Christ was *ἐσταυρωμένος* was, according to the Corinthians, a heresy<sup>135</sup> which rested on a mistake, but for Paul the crucified one was the real centre of his whole proclamation.<sup>136</sup> Therefore the stress on the cross in 1 Cor 1.18 and 2.8 is Paul's christological antithesis to the denial of the crucified Jesus in Corinth.<sup>137</sup> As can be seen also from the fact, if it is one, that Paul added a gloss to Phil 2.8, namely: *θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ*, a gloss that "breaks" the Gnostic redeemer myth, the crucifixion for him is not a transient phase stadium, but the salvation event. Although Paul shares a certain structure in his christology with his gnostic opponents,<sup>138</sup> Christ is and remains essentially the crucified.<sup>139</sup>

3) U. Wilckens develops his interpretation further in a certain respect by taking into account Schmithals' arguments.

The gnostic enthusiasts in Corinth came to deny the earthly Jesus in ecstasy and to identify themselves with the heavenly pneumatic Christ. Against this gnostic view, however, Paul emphasized that by the gift of the Holy Spirit man can recognize, not that one should curse the crucified one, but that he is the Lord (1 Cor 12.3).<sup>140</sup> For the gnostics the function of pneuma was to bring the recognition of the identification of the redeemer with the redeemed, viz. the gnostics, whereas for Paul the function of pneuma was to bring the recognition that the crucified one is the Lord. Therefore, for Paul community with the

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<sup>134</sup> op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>135</sup> op. cit., pp. 211f.

<sup>136</sup> op. cit., p. 215,

<sup>137</sup> cf. op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>138</sup> op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>139</sup> op. cit., p. 219, p. 95, pp. 70ff.

<sup>140</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., p. 50: "...dass der Jesus der Gnostiker in Kor, dieselbe historische Person war, die in der Urkirche als Herr verehrt wurde."



heavenly pneumatic Christ exists only when this pneumatic Christ reveals the crucified one as Lord. The gnostics demoted the earthly Jesus to being a figure of the past, and by identifying the redeemer in the present with the redeemed, sc. the gnostics, they failed to recognize the cross to be the salvation event. Paul, on the contrary, emphasized the earthly Jesus, in so far as he focussed on his death on the cross, because for Paul the crucified one is the one who is revealed by the Holy Spirit, as Kyrios. Therefore, Paul proclaimed the crucified one and interpreted the crucifixion as the salvation event. By doing so, Paul made it clear that the core of the term "Kyrios" is the crucified one, not in the sense that he refers to the life of the earthly Jesus, but in the sense that he refers to Jesus' death on the cross.

Wilckens, however, does not conclude his arguments merely with the assertion that for Paul the crucified one was the Kyrios by the aid and virtue of Pneuma. For, in Wilckens' view, Paul goes on to insist on the abiding distance between the crucified one and the redeemed, viz. the christians. The distance is both christological and chronological. That is, there is a chronological gap between the crucified one and the redeemed christians. By this thesis of Wilckens, there was raised a new question on the problem of the contrast between the eschatology of the Corinthians and that of Paul, i.e. between the christological teaching of the Corinthians and of Paul. This difference of eschatological teaching is argued and developed by J. Schniewind.

4) Schniewind has made a meritorious effort, in that he has made it understandable that the gnostic verse, 2 Tm 2.13, ἀνάστασιν ἡδὲ γερουσία, is the core of the Corinthian eschatology. Although most scholars agree with

Schniewind on this point,<sup>141</sup> Schmithals does not agree with the argument: "Just because he was ignorant of the actual situation, Paul could not have brought up *ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν* as the Gnostic teaching, if the Corinthians were maintaining *ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι*."<sup>142</sup> Here Schmithals overlooks the point that the thesis of the opponents was expressed not in *ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν*, but in *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν* (v.12). The Corinthians ignored only *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν*, but not the general *ἀνάστασις*. Furthermore, Schmithals

<sup>141</sup> J. Schniewind, *op. cit.*, pp. 113ff.  
Regarding the argumentation of J. Schniewind, E. Güttgemanns writes (*Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, Göttingen, 1966, p. 67, n. 73.): "Schniewinds Exegese leidet allerdings unter drei Thesen, die zum Teil seine richtigen Erkenntnisse wieder durchkreuzen. 1. nimmt Schniewind, a.a.O., p. 116, an, dass die korinthische These auf ein Missverständnis der paulinischen *ἤδη* zurückgehe. 'Paulus verkündet, an Jesus sei die eschatologische Totenerweckung proleptisch schon vollzogen und die Glaubenden seien jetzt schon mit ihm auferstanden, sie gehören jetzt schon zum zukünftigen Aeon, und das bestimmt ihren Lebenswandel' (p. 117). Aber das kann Schniewind, ebd. Anm. 1, nur mit Hilfe der deuteropaulinischen Stellen Kol 2.12f., 3.1, Eph 2.5f. beweisen. Diese These ist aber auch schon einfach dadurch ausgeschlossen, dass Paulus nirgendwo auf dieses Missverständnis der Korinther anspielt oder es korrigiert. 2. nimmt Schniewind, a.a.O. p. 113 an, die Korinther hätten 'die strenge, auf den Gerichtstag und die Parusie Christi gerichtete Eschatologie so wenig geleugnet, wie sie die Auferstehung Jesu leugneten'. Wie die Korinther unter diesen Umständen glauben konnten, 'sie seien in der *βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ* schon mitten drin' (124), ist dann nicht mehr verständlich. 3. nimmt Schniewind, a.a.O. p. 111, 121f. an, die Korinther hätten die somatische Art der Auferstehung Jesu geleugnet und Paulus wolle sie ihnen beweisen."

The following literature agrees with Schniewind: H.W. Bartsch, "Die Argumentation des Paulus in 1 Cor 15.3-11", *ZeitNTWiss.*, 55, 1964, pp. 261-274., W.G. Kümmel bei H. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 192f., R. Bultmann, *Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen*, Zürich, 1954, p. 250, also his *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen, 1953, p. 172, H. Conzelmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, Tübingen, 1955, (HNT), p. 83, E. Schweizer, "Der Glaube an Jesus den 'Herrn' in seiner Entwicklung von den ersten Nachfolgern bis zur hellenistischen Gemeinde", *EvangTheol.*, 17, 1957, pp. 13f., H. Schlier, *Die Zeit der Kirche*, Freiburg, 1958, pp. 148f., E. Brandenburger, *op. cit.*, p. 70, E. Käsemann, *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, 1, Göttingen, 1960, p. 137, and also "Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik", *ZeitTheolKirch.*, 59, 1962, pp. 272ff.

<sup>142</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 71f.



conjectures that the gnostics in Corinth, if they were identifying the redeemed with the redeemer, could not call the ascension of the redeemed *ἀνάστασις*.<sup>143</sup> One should, however, take it into account that in the New Testament sphere, the conception that Christ has already risen and ascended to heaven and is enthroned there, was consistently possible.<sup>144</sup> The term *ἀνάστασις* was consistently used by the Christian gnostics in connection with the motifs of ascension and enthronement. There are a number of proofs for this, as E. Güttgemanns particularly has pointed out.<sup>145</sup>

It is clear that the gnostics used the expression *ἀνάστασις* in the sense of the ascension of the redeemer, who is identical with the redeemed. Certainly, however, this does not mean that the Corinthians advocated the thesis, *ἀνάστασιν ἑσθ' ἡμετέραν*, as is suggested by Schniewind.

Schniewind, however, makes it clear, at least through his interpretation of 1 Cor 15.23-28, that the gnostic Christians, as well as the non-Christian gnostics, thought that they had already reached the final stage of perfection.<sup>146</sup> That Paul here should use the arguments he does becomes intelligible if one supposes that it is against Christian gnostics that he is using them, which is how Schniewind interprets the situation. For he argues that the resurrection is,

<sup>143</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, *op. cit.*, p. 74. W. Schmithals argues (p. 74) that the gnostics in Corinth held to a belief that Christ is "der lebendige, zwar nicht auferstandene, aber doch aufgefahrene Christus".

<sup>144</sup> cf. Eph. 2.5f., Kol. 3.1.

<sup>145</sup> cf. E. Güttgemanns, *op. cit.*, pp. 68ff. E. Güttgemanns refers to *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha* (ed., R.A. Lipsius-M. Bonnet, 1891) e.g., Bd. II, 1. 207, 11-13. 200, 5-9. He also says that "Aber auch in anderen sprachlichen Bereichen lassen sich Belege dafür finden, dass die Gnostiker den Aufstieg des Erlösers in seiner Identität mit den Erlösten als 'Auferstehung' bezeichnet haben." (p. 69).

<sup>146</sup> J. Schniewind, *op. cit.*, pp. 123ff.

in fact, not a simple event, but a complex or series of events.<sup>147</sup> The resurrection of Christ is only the ἀπαρχή, not the whole of the ἀνάστασις. According to Paul, therefore, there are three stages (v.23bf.): Only the earthly Jesus is risen as the ἀπαρχή so far. The Christians will be raised only at the time of his parousia. Therefore the eschatological salvation event is not yet concluded. The universal accomplishment of salvation will occur, only ὅταν (sc. Χριστὸς) καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν (v.24b), and ἕσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος (v.26), and ὅταν παραδιδῶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ (v.24a).

Only the third stage of the salvation event of ἀνάστασις, that is, the destruction of death itself, constitutes the τέλος, which the Corinthians thought that they had already obtained. VV.23-28 will become understandable when one recognizes that the Corinthians taught that the ἀνάστασις had occurred already, that is: the universal ἀνάστασις of the gnostics, who are, according to their understanding, identical with the redeemer. Paul taught them to interpolate a chronological and christological distance between Christ and the Christian. Christ is not identical with the Christian, for he is the crucified one who has been exalted to be Lord by the ἀνάστασις which he has experienced and is the first to have experienced, but there is a chronological gap between the resurrection of the crucified one and that of the Christian. Since the resurrection, as already implied by Jewish apocalyptic, is the eschatological act of God by which he inaugurates the time in which he alone rules, one may interpret the resurrection of the crucified one as the beginning of his sole rule. While the gnostics held that

<sup>147</sup> cf. J. Schniewind, *op. cit.*, pp. 124ff., also W. Grundmann, "Die Uebermacht der Gnade", *NovTest*, 2, 1958, p. 56. Against this, E. Brandenburger, *op. cit.* p. 71, A. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, pp. 124f.



they too were already risen, Paul emphasized that on the contrary, only the earthly Jesus had risen so far. Thus the characteristic difference between Paul's and the gnostics' teaching in Corinth becomes understandable.<sup>148</sup>

D. Summary: Significance of the Easter tradition in the context of 1 Corinthians.

The real character of Paul's opponents at Corinth may be still an open question. Research into this problem is still going on. Possibly one of the most remarkable recent propositions about this question is H. Conzelmann's theory on "Proto-Gnostiker".<sup>149</sup> Nevertheless, whether they were Judaizers, Judaizing Gnostics or, most probably, Gnostics or proto-Gnostics, there is certainly evidence in the Corinthian correspondence of a circle in the Corinthian congregation which was in the grip of an extravagant "spiritual" enthusiasm or fanaticism, had relinquished the preaching of the theologia viatorum and the theologia crucis and had surrendered to the conviction that they had already attained, had already passed beyond earthly temptation, and had already been elevated to the status of

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<sup>148</sup> cf. E. Fuchs, Gesammelte Aufsätze, II, Tübingen, 1960, p. 388. See also U. Wilckens, "Das Offenbarungsverständnis in der Geschichte des Urchristentums", in: Offenbarung als Geschichte, ed., W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1961, pp. 67-70, p. 70: "Die von Paulus scharf herausgearbeitete Differenz zwischen Christus und den Christen impliziert zugleich eine Unterscheidung der Vergangenheit des Christusgeschehens von der Gegenwart der Christen und der Zukunft ihrer Heilsteilhabe."

<sup>149</sup> H. Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1969, p. 30: "Welche Ideen haben sie in die Gemeinde mitgebracht? Wie wirkt sich der christliche Glaube darauf aus? In welche Richtung wird ihr mitgebrachtes Denken gelenkt? Und wenn schon 'Einflüsse': Wie sind diese vom Glauben her möglich? Wie wirkt dieser als Prinzip der Aneignung und Auswahl? Es ist zu bedenken, dass er sich ja in den jeweiligen Denkformen ausspricht. So ist die 'Uebernahme' ein Moment, das mit dem Glauben selbst gesetzt ist. Die entscheidende Frage ist dann die nach den Kriterien. Es ist die Frage des Paulus an die Korinther. Im Verhältnis zu ihr liegt die Frage nach dem Denk-Material, dessen mehr oder weniger synkretistischem oder gnostischem Charakter, im Vordergrund. Ausserdem darf man dieses Material gar nicht zu genau bestimmen wollen."

angels. The Corinthians could conclude: if Christ is risen, so also are his people.

Then, how did Paul, confronted by the problem in the Corinthian community, interpret the Easter kerygma which he had received? How in Paul's mind were cross and resurrection, i.e. the historical and eschatological components, combined with each other when, to warn the Corinthians, he adopted the traditional formula?

What actually happened between the experience of Jesus' crucifixion and burial and his Easter appearances, is left in the darkness of the unknown and hidden God. Yet the event that took place between the two experiences, of the cross of Jesus and his living appearances, was expressed and interpreted as being "raised from the dead". This was a confessional expression and Paul received it

149 (contd.)

Jüdische, griechische (popularphilosophische) Gedanken, wie sie auf der Strasse aufzulesen waren, traditionelle Anschauungen der griechischen Religion, Mysterienwirkungen (Weihen, Ekstasen) - alles ist da und ist gar nicht reinlich zu sondern. Einzelne Spuren weisen auch darauf, dass sich das zu formieren beginnt, was sich später als "Gnosis" präsentiert, also Gnosis in statu nascendi. Man mag die Korinther als Proto-Gnostiker charakterisieren."

cf. E. Käsemann, Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, II Bd., Göttingen, 1965, ET: New Testament Questions Today, London, 1969, p. 19: "Its first literary document is 1 Corinthians, in which we find the views and motifs of the religious life of the Hellenistic community springing up to meet us on every side. Nothing is more characteristic of this piety than the denial of the corporeal resurrection. The resurrection of Christ is not denied and the Corinthians are anything but rationalists: thus this denial cannot be derived simply from the Hellenistic 'Enlightenment'. The only remaining explanation, however, is that the Corinthians have appropriated to themselves at least in part the words of the gnostics of II Tim 2.18: 'The resurrection has already taken place.' In baptism they have experienced rebirth, they have achieved the breakthrough from death to life, they have put on the new man, they have escaped from the power of the forces of fate and entered into association with the hosts of the blessed: as the undoubted quotation from a hymn in Eph 2.6 formulates it, they are enthroned with Christ in the heavenly places."



as such. From the two mutually and radically contradictory experiences of the cross and the appearances of Jesus, the oldest Easter tradition infers an event in between, sc. an eschatological event, for which the verifying analogy is as yet only in prospect. That is, the term "raising" itself already expresses, as Paul understood it, not only a judgement about something that happened to Jesus, but at the same time also an eschatological expectation which, though it had already been fulfilled in Jesus' case in the experiences of the cross and of the appearances, yet for the believer remains an expectation and a hope that precedes him.<sup>150</sup>

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cf. G. Delling, "The Significance of the Resurrection of Jesus for Faith in Jesus Christ", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, p. 87: "Christians confess the God who raised Jesus from the dead: here God is characterized by his main decisive action. This is evidently a deliberate alteration of a divine title in the form of a participle, used in Judaism: 'Who makes living the dead', the end of the second benediction of the shemoneh 'esrah (Paul takes it up in Rom 4.17, cf. II Cor 1.9). Primitive Christianity made the distinction between itself and Judaism, that it believed in him who raised Jesus from the dead. Whereas the Jewish divine title refers to the future act of God, the Christian title signifies that the eschatological action of God has already begun - in Jesus Christ."

cf. U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Ueberlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in: Dogma und Denkstrukturen, ed., W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, Göttingen, 1963, p. 86: "Die eschatologische Totenauferstehung gehört nun zwar durchaus - wenn auch keineswegs durchweg und vor allem vorstellungsmässig völlig disparat - zu den Inhalten apokalyptisch-traditioneller Offenbarung."

p. 89: "Die Art und Weise der eschatologischen ἀποκάλυψις des Paulus weist in ausgesprochener Eindeutigkeit von vornherein zum Verständnis des Auferstehungsereignisses selbst an. Es hatte sich hier in der Tat um bereits ereignetes eschatologisches Geschehen gehandelt. Was die Tradition von der Zukunft - und zwar in bestimmt vorgestelltem Ereigniszusammenhang - erwartete, das wurde hier unbezweifelbar als geschehenes Ereignis erfahren, unbezweifelbar, weil es eben der gestorbene und begrabene Jesus war, den Paulus als auferweckten Erhöhten (d.h. in den Bereich der für alle Menschen noch verborgenen, zukünftigen Endereignisse hinein aus dem Tode Entrückten) zu sehen bekam. Dies Ereignis also hat selbst den Vorstellungszusammenhang der Tradition gesprengt. Diejenigen jedoch, die durch die Erfahrung davon betroffen wurden, hatten dieses Geschehen mit den Mitteln der Tradition (andere hatten sie nicht!) zur

Perhaps, as Käsemann proposes, this peculiar eschatological idea belongs originally to the apocalyptic context in the primitive Christian community.<sup>151</sup>

For the gnostic Christians, expectation of an imminent parousia ceases to be meaningful, because everything which apocalyptic still hopes for has already been realized. What is important to note is that a large scale process of transformation is taking place here, in which present eschatology is taking over from Jewish Christian apocalyptic of the time after Easter. Paul, however, finds himself unable to adopt the basic premise of the gnostic Christians, that the Christian participates not only in the cross, but also in the resurrection, of his Lord. It is not that he is not acquainted with this assertion, as emerges above

150 (contd.)

Sprache zu bringen. Das ist es gewesen, was den wesentlichen Unterschied der christlichen Tradition von der jüdischen in jener doppelten Weise bewirkt hat: Hier wurde (1) die geschehene eschatologische Auferweckung dieses Einen in Unterscheidung von der noch künftigen Auferstehung der Gerechten verkindigt, und zwar (2) deutlich abgehoben von ihr, aber darin nicht von ihr getrennt, denn die Auferweckung Jesu war für Paulus ja das Erstlingsgeschehen von eschatologischer Totenaufweckung, dem die Auferstehung der Christen als der Gerechten folgen werde."

Also see, B. Klappert, Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung, Wuppertal, 1967, p. 26: "In der Auseinandersetzung mit seinen gnostischen Gegnern in Korinth hat Paulus den unauflöselichen Zusammenhang und die enge Verklammerung zwischen der Auferstehung Jesu Christi und der künftigen Auferstehung der Toten herausgestellt".

151

cf. E. Käsemann, Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, 2, Göttingen, 1965, ET: New Testament Questions Today, London, 1969, pp. 124ff.

cf. J. Moltmann, "Resurrection as Hope", HarvTheolRev, 61, 1968, vol. 50-60, p. 133: "St. Paul sets himself apart from the old apocalypticism in at least two important points. (1) He no longer awaits the consummation of God's righteousness only from the future, but believes that from the cross of the resurrected Christ this righteousness begins, in Word and Spirit, its creative course through the godless world. (2) For this reason he no longer speaks of a resurrection of the unjust for judgment. 'Resurrection' is for him, just like 'God's righteousness' and 'Predestination', an unequivocal concept of salvation. He understands resurrection as a new creation of God, a creation which is good and no longer equivocal. The apocalyptic theodicy question was raised by St. Paul on grounds of the cross of Christ and in the midst of 'the sufferings of this present time', and was answered in the proclamation of the creative righteousness of God. It was faith pointing towards hope in conscious solidarity with the entire creation still 'groaning in travail' (Rom 8.22)."



all from his modification of it in Ro 6.4f.: for him, too, baptism effects participation in the destiny of the redeemer and therefore immerses him in the death of Christ. It even conveys participation in the heavenly life by making possible the nova oboedientia, which demonstrates the working of the power of the risen Lord upon the believer. Paul associates sharing in the cross with sharing in the resurrection: but in so doing, he builds in a remarkable caveat in the shape of an eschatological reservation. Participation in the resurrection is spoken of not in the perfect tense, but in the future. Baptism equips for it, is a summons to it, but does not itself convey this gift. If baptism makes the nova oboedientia possible, yet this is still only an anticipatory hint of what is undoubtedly in the future. Christ alone is risen; one has in the spirit the expectation of the resurrection and proclaims this by the new obedience of one's life. Further than this Paul, unlike the gnostics, is not prepared to go. 1 Cor 15 shows that what is at stake is a fundamentally different theological conception which enables Paul to remain true at this point to the apocalyptic tradition. Without it, his whole anti-enthusiastic-gnostic argument would lose its heart and its meaning. In 1 Cor 15.20-28, where occurs the dominant motif of Paul's theology of the resurrection, the content of the resurrection is primarily not anthropological at all, but Christological. It is the work of the second Adam and therefore its meaning is not immediately, and primarily the believers' re-animation, but the lordship of Christ. "Christ must reign": that is the nerve centre of the design and the firm ground which gives one confidence concerning one's own destiny. Paul, however, is not content with this. In a way which is more than strange, he immediately adds to this first assertion a second - that the lordship of Christ is limited and passing. The only goal it serves is to give way to the sole lordship of God. Christ is God's representative over against a world which

is not yet fully subject to God, although its eschatological subordination is in train since Easter and its end is in sight. No perspective could be more apocalyptic. With the greatest clarity it emerges here that Paul is absolutely unable and unwilling to speak of any end to history which has already come to pass, but does, however, discern that the day of the end time has already dawned. This has been so since the resurrection of Christ, because since then the subjection of the cosmic power has been taking place. The present eschatology of the gnostics, is therefore taken up, but apocalyptically anchored and delimited as it is not with them. For, Paul, it is not an alternative to, but a component of, a future eschatology. Its realm is called the basileia Christi.<sup>152</sup>

To conclude, Paul, adopting the formula and in basic agreement with the apocalyptic idea of the formula, instructed the Corinthians that the event which is revealed in the cross and the Easter experiences points back to the promise of God and forward to an eschaton in which his divinity will be revealed as "all in all". What happened to Jesus is understood by Paul as the dawn and assured promise of the coming glory of God over all, as a victory of life from God over

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<sup>152</sup> cf. E. Käsemann, op. cit., p. 133. Furthermore, Käsemann argues that "Equally of apocalyptic origin is the outlook which sees in the Kyrios, not the lord of a cult, but the exalted Ruler of the Universe. This is the point at which the correctness of my reconstruction, which derives the theology of the Exaltation from apocalyptic, is confirmed: it is not the heavenly Son of Man in his hiddenness who is the Lord of the World, but the Christ exalted to God's right hand, and the extent of his lordship - this is the sense of the Hellenistic hymnus to Christ - is the extent to which the world-powers have been put in subjection. There remains only the end of the lordship of death upon earth, which is identical with the end of history. The resurrection of Christ is therefore, even while it counts as the beginning of the general resurrection, still for the time being the great exception, in which we can participate by hope alone." (op. cit., pp. 133f.)



death.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, in Paul's mind, the dialectic of cross and resurrection is an open dialectic, which will find its resolution and synthesis only in the eschaton.

Another point to be noticed in this connection is that, according to Paul's intention, in 1 Cor 15.3ff. the emphasis lies on the "last appearance" (1 Cor 15.8) which is to be interpreted as a legitimation and is expressed, like the earlier appearances, in a legitimation formula. These formulae have a clear motif, the motif of "mission". The appearances of the risen Lord were experienced by those involved as a commission to service and mission in the world. By the revelation of the risen Lord the men involved and Paul as well were identified with the mission of Jesus and thus placed in the midst of a history which is instituted and determined by the mission of Jesus and by his future as revealed and made an object of hope in the fore-glow of Easter. Paul grasped the mystery of the person of Jesus and of his history in the cross and resurrection from the standpoint of his mission and in the light of God's future for the world, which his mission serves.

The last point to be noticed here might be that in the passage (1 Cor 15.3ff.) lies not only a quantitative increase but a change in the understanding of "time" itself. The originating moment, Easter, is succeeded by the time of the church which is understood by Paul as an intermediate time, namely, as the time in which the death of the Lord is proclaimed and his parousia is expected. Moreover, an

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<sup>153</sup> cf. B. Klappert, op. cit., p. 27: "Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi ist also für Paulus nicht lediglich ein Ereignis der Vergangenheit, er begreift sie auch nicht isoliert als Auferstehung eines einzelnen. Vielmehr ist die Auferstehung Christi für ihn ein unabgeschlossenes, auf kommende Zukunft hin offenes, die Auferstehung aller Toten einschliessendes und verheissendes Geschehen. Daraus folgert Paulus im Hinblick auf seine Gegner in Korinth: Wer die allgemeine Auferstehung der Toten verneint, leugnet die Auferweckung Jesu Christi, wer die Auferweckung Jesu Christi bekennt und gleichzeitig die künftige Auferstehung verwirft, hat damit im Grunde auch das erste mitverworfen: "Gibt es aber keine Auferstehung der Toten, dann ist auch Christus nicht auferweckt worden" (1 Kor 15.13)."

idea of redemptive history is developed which bears strict reference to the connection of the church with Israel.

The next task is to investigate and clarify Pauline resurrection texts besides 1 Cor., so that one can have a comprehensive understanding of the meaning and role of 1 Cor 15 in the context of the whole Pauline resurrection theology.

### 3.5 Paul's contribution to the theology of resurrection.

Paul's contribution to the theology of resurrection would appear to lie along two lines,<sup>154</sup> the dogmatic and the empirical.

A. The dogmatic involves an eschatological scheme, which is modified according to context. The fact that Paul sharpens the eschatological element would seem to be partly due to the way that he understands himself as an eschatological figure and his mission to the Gentiles as a new and integral part of an eschatological programme. Judging from such a passage as Ga 1-2 (cf. 1 Cor

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<sup>154</sup> cf. Evans, Resurrection and the New Testament, London, 1970, pp. 155ff., cf. W. Grundmann, "Eschatologisches Denken des Apostels Paulus", NTStud. 8, 1961/62, pp. 12-26, p. 15: "Für das Verständnis der paulinischen Eschatologie sind damit zwei entscheidende Ansätze gewonnen. Das eschatologische Geschehen ist einerseits ein personal-kommunikatives Geschehen... Ihr Geschehensvollzug, und das ist der andere Ansatz, wird in apokalyptisch bestimmten zeitlichen Kategorien als ein zeitliches Nacheinander entfaltet. Hier treten apokalyptisch-zeitliche Denkkategorien und Aussagen ein." p. 26: "Die zeitlichen Aussagen, am Anfang mit starker apokalyptischer Bildhaftigkeit und zeitlicher Periodisierung vorgetragen, wandeln sich: Bildhaftigkeit und Periodisierung treten zurück, während sich die personal-kommunikativen Aussagen als das Eigentliche und Beständige erweisen und Gegenwart und Zukunft christlicher Existenz umschliessen und tragen." p. 17: "Die zeitlich-apokalyptischen Aussagen sind Hilfsvorstellungen, die der Veranschaulichung dienen, nicht sie, sondern die personal-kommunikativen Aussagen sind bestimmend für das eschatologische Denken des Paulus, die apokalyptisch-zeitlichen Aussagen aber haben die wichtige Bedeutung, den in den personal-kommunikativen Kategorien ausgedrückten Vorgang als geschichtlichen zu sichern."



15.8, Php 3. 4ff., Ro 11.15ff.), Paul divided the Christian mission into two groups, i.e. a mission to Israel under Peter and his companions and a mission to all who were not Israel under himself and his companions. Paul considered mission to be the gathering of the elect as the prelude to the parousia. Whereas the conversion of Israel should have preceded and led to the conversion of Gentiles, the gospel demanded paradoxically that a representative sum of the Gentiles was to precede the conversion of Israel. Therefore, one may say that Paul's part in this had been thrown into relief by having imparted to him the divine secret of the reversal of what would have been the normal procedure. This eschatological perspective is extensively represented in II Thessalonians, if this was Pauline, and if the exegesis of II Thess. 2.6f., found in O. Cullmann,<sup>155</sup> were correct, whereby "he holds back" and "that which holds back" the final manifestation of evil and the appearance of the antichrist figure, refers to the apostle himself and the gospel he proclaims, Paul states his ultimate object as being the presentation of his churches to Christ, and it is this intention rather than simply pastoral care in the ordinary sense which involves him in writing letters at all, and which gives his letters their particular tone.

The Corinthians were maintaining that "there is no resurrection of the dead" (15.12). And they also denied any future resurrection on the ground that they believed themselves to be in a resurrection existence already (cf. 2 Tim 2.18). As has become clear through our earlier investigation, it stemmed from the

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<sup>155</sup> O. Cullmann, "Le caractère eschatologique du devoir missionnaire et de la conscience apostolique de S. Paul; Étude sur le *κατέχων* de II Thess. 2.6-7", *RevHistPhilRel*, 16, 1936, pp. 210ff. Cullmann maintains that this passage, as well as others in the New Testament, presupposes that the Gospel must be preached to the heathen before the end can come. Similarly, J. Munck, *Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte*, Aarhus, 1954, pp. 28ff.

conviction that the believer was already living "proleptically in the kingdom",<sup>156</sup> with all the spiritual freedom which that implied.<sup>157</sup> Although there is an exposition of the resurrection body in 1 Cor 15 in the suggestion of some form of "somatic" and personal identity between the present and the future, it is in the chapter itself limited in its scope. The perspective is the apocalyptic one of the last trumpet (15.52), and the possibility of some Christians having died before the parousia, and may be extremely primitive if the correct reading in 15.51 is

πάντες οὐ κοιμηθήσονται

and is to be rendered "all shall not

sleep", i.e. "none of us shall die". Against any idea of a reunion of the Lord in his glorious state with the elect in their present earthly condition, Paul adds, as a secret revealed to him, that all, without exception, are to be prepared for the parousia, the dead by resurrection to incorruption and the mortal living by transformation into immortality, and expresses his certainty that this will take place immediately at the parousia (15.52). The mode of this change is suggested by appeal to various analogies together with reference to a second Adam or heavenly man who is lifegiving spirit, and who is identified with Christ.

The same perspective is recognized also in I Thessalonians.<sup>158</sup> The problem (1 Th 4.13ff.) here is how Christians who have died can participate in the reunion of the Lord with his elect. The resurrection of Jesus is simply appealed to as a guarantee that the same God who raised Jesus will likewise raise those who have

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<sup>156</sup> cf. J.C. Hurd, The Origin of 1 Corinthians, London, 1956, p. 286.

<sup>157</sup> cf. W. Schmithals, op. cit., 1965, pp. 206ff.

<sup>158</sup> The first Epistle to the Thessalonians shows how emphasis on the expected return of Jesus led some Christians to neglect their work and ignore the demands of society.



died "through Jesus". These will thus not be left as without hope, but will be raised first in order to be able to join those still alive at the parousia in a reunion with the Lord and a permanent existence with him beyond the judgement and the divine wrath, from both of which they had already been delivered (1.10). The expression, "for a meeting with the Lord in the air" is a remarkable one for the parousia. Both in the word ἀνέγρου (cf. 1 Th 4.17) and in the expression "in the air", ἐν ἀέρι (cf. 1 Th 4.17), used of a region of elements and spirits between earth and heaven, it reflects apocalyptic ideas.<sup>159</sup>

The perspective is essentially the same in Philippians, at any rate in the present form of that letter, and probably also even if 3.20<sup>160</sup> and 4.5<sup>161</sup> belong to different letters. "The Lord is near", i.e. for the parousia, and his expected

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<sup>159</sup> cf. A. Oepke, Die kleineren Briefe des Apostels Paulus, NTD, Göttingen, 1962, p. 170.

<sup>160</sup> cf. F.W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians, London, 1962. Regarding this verse, E. Güttgemanns (op. cit.) writes (p. 240-241): "Aus einer ganzen Reihe von Gründen ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass wir in Phil. 3.20f. das Fragment eines vorpaulinischen Hymnus vor uns haben." Similarly, G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christushymnus Phil 2.6-11", ZeitNTWiss, 55, 1964, pp. 75f., E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1954, pp. 156f.

E. Güttgemanns writes again (p. 241.): "Diese terminologisch-sachliche Uebereinstimmung macht wahrscheinlich, dass Phil 3.20f. und 2.6-11 aus dem gleichen sprachlichen, vorstellungsmässigen und religions-geschichtlichen Milieu stammen." Similarly, E. Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, Heidelberg, 1961, E. Käsemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil 2.5-11", ZeitTheolKirch, 47, 1950, pp. 313-360, G. Bornkamm, "Zum Verständnis der Christushymnus Phil 2.6-11", in: Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum, Heidelberg, 1959, pp. 177-187.

<sup>161</sup> cf. E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1930, pp. 168ff.: "So begreift sich unmittelbar die Anfügung des nächsten Sätzchens: 'Der Herr ist nahe'. In ihm ist die Lösung des Streites gegeben, der an dem Märtyrer sich vollzieht. Denn mit dem Kommen des Herrn ist auch sein und der Gläubigen 'Sieg' über die Welt offenbar. Dies Wort dringender eschatologischer Hoffnung und zwingender Gewissheit erweckt den Eindruck einer fest geprägten Formel."

return from heaven, but whereas the passive verbs in 1 Cor 15 suggest that the author of the transformation is God (15.4 ἐγείρεται : perf. pass. cf. 15.51 ἀλλαγησόμεθα : fut. pass. v.52 ἐρεσθίζονται : fut. pass.), here Christ himself as the future saviour is to carry out the transformation, into the likeness of his own body of glory, and by the exercise of his power to subdue all things to himself, by which in 1 Cor 15.24f. also he subdues all the enemies of God, including death.

2 Cor 5.1-10 seems to be rather difficult to interpret both in itself and in relation to the question as to whether or not Paul's perspective had developed to any extent from that in 1 Cor 15. The context is Paul's estimation of his present temporary sufferings in the light of future permanent glory. The concern is primarily with the possibility of resurrection and of how it may come about, as is clear from the conditional clauses in vv.1,3 (v.1: εἰ ἢ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ v.3: εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεσθίζόμεθα ) and the expression of aspiration in v.4. The parousia is not immediately in view, though it may be hinted at in a rather different manner in the concepts of "being absent from the body", and of "being present with the Lord". (cf. 2 Cor 5.8: ἐνδύμεθα πρὸς τὸν κύριον). Further, the qualification is introduced that the elect, who in 1 Th 1.10 have already been delivered from the wrath to come and in 1 Cor 6.2f. are said to be destined to judge angels and the world, must stand before the judgement of Christ. Here also there is mention of an ultimate transformation of present existence at the resurrection, namely, as in 1 Cor 15, a "putting on" or "putting over". What is put on or over, however, is "a building from God", a "heavenly house eternal in the heavens", and a "dwelling place from heaven". The interpretation of these mixed metaphors, of the clothing with a resurrection existence not of the individual, but of the whole



body of Christ, the church in its glorified state,<sup>162</sup> is not convincing. The word *οικοδομή* might be given such a sense on the ground that elsewhere in Paul it refers to the church<sup>163</sup> and its edification - though of the only two parallels, 1 Cor 3.9 means rather that the Corinthians' community is of God's constructing; and Eph 2.21 is dubiously Pauline. This corporate sense can hardly attach to *οἶκος* and *οἰκητήριον*, for these are not said to be a place where Christians dwell together, but something to be put on. The words "if our earthly house is demolished" (v.1) obviously refer to the death of the individual. That Paul was thinking here in individual terms would also seem to be indicated by his somewhat surprising conclusion to the passage, that each one is to appear before the judgment seat of Christ to be judged according to what he has done in the body. The idea of heavenly clothing (though not of a heavenly house), prepared in advance for the elect, is found in apocalyptic writing (cf. 1 Enoch 62.15, 108.12, 11, 2 Enoch 22.8). The nearest parallel to the heavenly body as a house appears to be Iranian.<sup>164</sup>

B. The second line of Paul's thought on resurrection is thoroughly empirical and experiential. This is not so much in relation to himself and to his own private experience. Marxsen observes<sup>165</sup> that when speaking of his own conversion Paul does not refer specifically to having seen Jesus as the risen one, and conversely, when speaking of the resurrection he does not refer to his own conversion

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<sup>162</sup> So, J.A.T. Robinson, *The Body*, Chicago, 1952, pp. 76ff. Also E.E. Ellis, *Paul and his Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids, 1961, pp. 38ff.

<sup>163</sup> cf. J.A.T. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>164</sup> cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 355; See also, P. Vielhauer, *Oikodome*, Karlsruhe, 1940, pp. 107ff.

<sup>165</sup> W. Marxsen, "The Resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem", in: *The Significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ*, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, p. 23.

experience. The connection is rather with the Christian life as such as being life in the spirit. For Paul, the hallmark of Christian life is that it is the existence in the spirit of those who have received the spirit. What life in the spirit means can be seen from the fact that Paul bases his whole exhortation to the Galatians upon it. The starting point of Paul's appeal is that they have received the spirit, and they can be asked whether they received it as a result of the performance of law or from the hearing of the gospel with faith (Ga 3.2). They can be exhorted to return to life in the spirit as those who have been begotten according to the spirit (Ga 4.29-5.25). Even in 1 Cor 15.1-20 the primary appeal is to the experience of the Corinthians, for to rule out the possibility of resurrection is to deny the resurrection of Christ, and with it the effective working of the gospel which is evidenced in their present faith and the forgiveness of their sins. Similarly, in 2 Cor 3, the whole apostolic ministry of the new covenant is characterized as a permanent ministry of the spirit, in contrast to the transitory ministry of law, and a progressive transformation into the likeness of the Lord's image is possible, because the Lord who brings it about is himself spirit, or effective divine power, and ensures the communication of it.

This life of the spirit has three particular characteristics:

- a) it is characterized by "newness"<sup>166</sup> (cf. Ro. 7.6: δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος ) as opposed to the "oldness" of the law. Something of what

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cf. O. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1963, p. 168: "καινότης und παλαιότης bilden hier ein Gegensatzpaar, das mehr zum Ausdruck bringt als 'neu' und 'veraltet' (II Kor 3.6,14)." "πνεῦμα ist das charakteristische Zeichen für das rechte Verständnis des Alten Bundes, während γράμμα als polemische Abgrenzung auf das Gesetz als äussere Vorschrift, als Geschriebenes und Vorgeschriebenes hinweist. Das Auftauchen der beiden Gegensatzpaare καινότης und παλαιότης, πνεῦμα und γράμμα zeigt, dass Pls sich in diesem Augenblick in der Auseinandersetzung mit γράμμα, dem jüdisch-rabbinischen Gesetzesverständnis befindet."



this newness consists of is indicated in the statements about the Christian life in Ro 8.

b) The spirit imparts life and makes alive in contrast to both the law and the flesh. One aspect of this life is righteousness, in contrast with the law, which only brings unrighteousness to light, and with the flesh's total absence of righteousness (Ro 7.6ff., 2 Cor 3.6ff., Ro 8.6-11, Ga 3.21).

c) The spirit is called a "first instalment", καὶ δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος : 2 Cor 1.22, 5.5) and "first-fruit"<sup>167</sup> (τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος : Ro 8.23). These technical terms from finance and the cults do not mean that the present possession of the spirit is a guarantee of further instalments of the spirit, but that the possession of the spirit is a foretaste and promise of something further, i.e. the full life of "glory", an eschatological term which comes nearest to denoting the divine life itself.<sup>168</sup> (cf. Ro 8.21, 2 Cor 3.17f., 5.5ff.). Since resurrection also spells for Paul newness, life and the promise of glory, it can be brought into connection with this life of and in the spirit. This is true, first, of Christ himself, who is said to have been appointed or designated Son of God with effective power both as a result of resurrection and by a spirit of holiness (Ro 1.4), and through resurrection and exaltation he is able to perform the work of the spirit in interceding (Ro 8.34). But as the risen and exalted Lord, he does or will impart the resurrection life to the believer, and in doing

<sup>167</sup> cf. O. Michel, op. cit., p. 205: "ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ πνεύματος ist ein Bild aus der al.lichen Opfersprache und klingt an unserer Stelle betont feierlich. Dem Anhub entspricht die vollkommene Ernte, der gegenwärtigen Bürgschaft die zukünftige Verherrlichung. Weil wir als Christen die eschatologische Gabe des Geistes Gottes empfangen haben, seufzen auch wir "in uns selbst" oder "im Blick auf uns selbst" bzw. "wenn wir uns zum Gebet versammeln"."

<sup>168</sup> cf. O. Michel, op. cit., p. 203.

so imparts newness and righteousness, life and glory. Thus the characteristics of life in the spirit are drawn together under the heading of resurrection. In Ro 6.4, union with Christ's death in baptism carries with it that "as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life", and shall be in the likeness of his resurrection and live to God. Dying to the law means belonging to the one who was raised from the dead and bearing fruit to God through the newness of the spirit. In Ro 8.11<sup>169</sup> the spirit of God, i.e. the spirit of Christ, dwells in the believer to produce life and righteousness. It is the spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead, and in virtue of this present indwelling of his spirit God quickens the mortal body in resurrection. In 2 Cor 4.10ff.,<sup>170</sup> the apostolic ministry of the spirit and of progressive

169 cf. E. Güttgemanns, op. cit., p. 276: "Jesus als der Inhaber der eschatologischen Zeit auf Grund der Heilsereignisse wirkt also auf die Christen durch den Geist als die Macht der eschatologischen Zeit ein, so dass der Christ sein Sein in se verliert und sein Sein durch den Geist extra se gewinnt: der Gekreuzigte selbst ist sein "Sein" geworden. Indem sich so am Orte Jesu für die Christen der Zeitenwechsel vollzog, vermittelt das Heilsereignis als Ereignis der Gottesgerechtigkeit kraft der Macht eschatologischer Zeit die *ἡν* oder die *σήμερον*, d.h. echte Zukunft, während das *σήμερον* der Christen - ontisch gesehen - dem Tod als Auswirkung der Sünde verfallen bleibt (v.10). Weil aber der Christ extra se in Christus sein Sein hat, hat diese Vergangenheit ihre Macht an die Zukunft verloren, also diejenige Zeit, die das Sein der Christen ontologisch konstituiert (v.11)." Similarly, E. Fuchs, "Die Grenze der Kirche", EvangTheol, 3, 1936, pp. 43f., R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1953, p. 336.

170 Regarding the problem of "Leidens-oder Passions-Mystik" of the passage, see the following literature: M. Dibelius, Botschaft und Geschichte II, Tübingen, 1956, p. 97, p. 136, A. Schulz, "Leidenstheologie und Vorbildethik in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen", in: Neutestamentliche Aufsätze, ed., J. Blinzler-O. Kuss-F. Mussner, Regensburg, 1963, p. 265, W. Heitmüller, Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus, Göttingen, 1903, p. 20f., J. Weiss, Jesus im Glauben des Urchristentums, Tübingen, 1910, pp. 36f., H. Windisch, Der zweite Korintherbrief, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1924, pp. 40f., O. Schmitz, Die Christus-Gemeinschaft des Paulus im Lichte seines Genetivgebrauchs, Gütersloh, 1924, J. Schneider, Die Passionsmystik des Paulus, Leipzig, 1929, pp. 48-61, F. Hauck, ThW III, pp. 806f., K.H. Schelkle, Die Passion Jesu in der Verkündigung des Neuen Testaments, Heidelberg, 1949, p. 265, R. Schnackenburg, Das Heilsgeschehen bei der Taufe nach dem Apostel Paulus, München, 1950, pp. 177f., A. Wikenhauser, Die Christusbarmherzigkeit des Apostels Paulus, 1956, p. 95, pp. 103-109.



transformation into the divine glory is said to be a treasure contained in earthen vessels.

Paul nowhere brings these two lines of thought, i.e. the eschatological and the empirical experience, into a systematic relationship. When he argues for the possibility of resurrection, as in 1 Cor 15 or 1 Th 4, he does not refer to the Christian life of the spirit, and when he talks of life in the spirit he does not argue it on an eschatological basis. Nevertheless the two at times, somehow, overlap, and often it is not certain which line he is following. Thus the statement "if any man is in Christ, he is a new creation" (2 Cor 5.17) could be taken to be a technical eschatological statement to the effect that for any to be "in Christ"<sup>171</sup> means that the new final age of the world has begun.

H. Schwantes<sup>172</sup> adduces, however, rabbinic parallels in which the expression "new creation" is used in a non-technical and purely metaphorical sense. An unexpected deliverance from danger, or a fresh start in forgiveness, is called a

170 (contd.)

The following literature shows the critical line towards the mystical interpretation of the passage: K. Deissner, Paulus und die Mystik seiner Zeit, Leipzig, 1921, p. 107, p. 121, E. v. Dobschütz, "Rationales und irrationales Denken über Gott im Urchristentum", ThStKr 95, 1923/24, pp. 326ff., also his Der Apostel Paulus, Halle, 1926, pp. 42f., P. Feine, Der Apostel Paulus, Gütersloh, 1927, pp. 539ff., G. Heinzelmann, Glaube und Mystik, Tübingen, 1927, pp. 55-67, E. Lohse, Märtyrer und Gottesknecht, Göttingen, 1955, p. 202, R. Bultmann, RGG(3), 4, cols. 1244f., E. Güttgemanns (op. cit.) writes (p. 101): "Diese reißen unsere Stelle in der Überwiegenden Mehrzahl in das Phänomen ein, das man 'Leidens-' oder 'Passions-Mystik' genannt hat. Aus einer ganzen Reihe von Gründen muss die 'mystische' Interpretation für unapaulinisch erklärt werden."

<sup>171</sup> Regarding the problem of ἐν Χριστῷ see: F. Neugebauer, In Christus, EN XPICTOI, Göttingen, 1961, also his "Das paulinische 'In Christo'", NTStud, 1957/58, pp. 124-138, A. Oepke, ThW II, pp. 537ff., W. Kramer, Christos, Kyrios, Gottessohn, Zürich, 1963, pp. 143f. Regarding the expression, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: See, W. Kramer, op. cit., pp. 141ff., and also, F. Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>172</sup> H. Schwantes, Schöpfung der Endzeit, Berlin, 1963, pp. 26ff.

"new creation". He holds that in Ga 6.15 and 2 Cor 5.17<sup>173</sup> the emphasis is on *καὶνὴ* rather than *κτίσις* and that Paul is arguing from experienced newness of the life in Christ. There is some overlap in 1 Cor 15, in that the possibility of a future resurrection lies in the certainty that as the believers have borne the image of the earthly Adam, they will also bear the image of the eschatological heavenly Adam, who is lifegiving spirit, and the future body is a spiritual one.

Again there is an overlap in 2 Cor 5.1-10.<sup>174</sup> Whereas Paul generally speaks of the resurrection of the believer as a future event, there are statements, especially about the pressure of distress, opposition and suffering, where the boundary line between the future and the present is crossed, and the resultant picture is blurred. However, it is not clear what is the relation between the present participation in Christ's resurrection and the future hoped-for resurrection, when these are brought into conjunction in a single sentence as in Php 3.10f. or 2 Cor 4.16-5.4 or between the new man who is being daily renewed at the expense of the old man's destruction, and the house-garment through which that which is mortal is completely swallowed up by immortality.

Paul's letters are ad hoc letters. Therefore, what he mentions in them is due to the several situations to which they are addressed. One of the earliest

<sup>173</sup> Regarding the mystical interpretation of the passage, see: H. Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 124, O. Schmitz, Die Christusgemeinschaft des Paulus im Lichte seines Genetivgebrauchs, Gütersloh, 1924, p. 136, A. Deissmann, Paulus, Tübingen, 1911, p. 160, n. 2., W. Bousset, SNT II, p. 188, also his Kyrios Christos, Göttingen, 1965, p. 116, H.J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, Tübingen, 1911, p. 257, H.E. Weber, Eschatologie und Mystik im Neuen Testament, Gütersloh, 1930, p. 89, H. Windisch, op. cit., pp. 182f.

Against mystical interpretation: A. Schlatter, Die Theologie der Apostel, Stuttgart 1922, p. 30, O. Schmitz, op. cit., pp. 135f., E. Güttgemanns, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>174</sup> Some scholars argue a transition from a futurist to a realized eschatology in the passage, e.g., H. Windisch, Der Zweite Korintherbrief, Göttingen, 1924, p. 157, W.L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, Cambridge, 1939, pp. 128f., J.A.T. Robinson, Jesus and His Coming, London, 1957, p. 101, pp. 160f., W.D. Davies, St. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1955, p. 319.



situations is that which is reflected in 1 Thessalonians: the crisis for faith is the death of some Christians before the parousia, and what is said about resurrection is orientated towards this problem. Paul argues that their conversion meant a turning from idols to be the slaves of God, and to await his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus, their deliverer from the wrath of the judgement (cf 1.9f.). Here the orientation is towards the future consummation. To be a Christian is to be waiting for the Lord's coming from heaven as the judge at, as well as the deliverer from the coming judgement, his resurrection being the pre-supposition of these functions. The problem is not that these Christians are dead, but that being dead they may miss the reunion between the Lord and the living. It is answered by what Paul calls a "word of the Lord" (1 Th 4.15): there will be no difference between living and dead, because as Jesus died and rose, those who have died "through" Jesus, as Christians, God will bring along with Jesus through resurrection to join the living (4.15ff.). Further, they are exhorted to the practice of virtue in the meantime, because, "whether we wake or sleep we might live with him" (5.10.). In this statement, there is already a hint of resurrection as not merely a means to a further end, but as a new permanent form of existence characterized by the relationship expressed in the word "with Christ". The preposition, *σύν*, especially as a prefix to the verb, marks this parallelism between the career of Christ and that of the Christian<sup>175</sup> (cf. Ro 8.17, 6.1-9, Ga 2.20, Col 2.12, 3.1 Eph 2.6 Php 3.10, 21).

It is to be noticed that this parallelism breaks down at the point of resurrection, so that at one time it can be said that the Christian has already risen with Christ (Col 3.1) and at another that he will rise with him (Ro 6.8). This is because in the case of Christ resurrection was followed by exaltation, to

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<sup>175</sup> cf. E.E. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

be soon followed by parousia, while in the case of the Christian it is followed by continued life in this world. While the expectation of the parousia remained with Paul all his life, and so determined his thought on resurrection, the realization of what was involved in being here and now "in Christ" or "with Christ" served to sever some of the links which tied resurrection to apocalyptic expectation, and to allow it to play a more creative role of its own.

This is evident in Philippians. The expectation of the end is still there (Php 4.5, 3.20f.: "But our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself."). Here Christ is Lord and Saviour, not as in 1 Thessalonians because he will deliver from the future wrath of judgement, but because he will in the future resurrection impart to them the same divine glory with which he has himself been clothed, and by which he subdues the universe. This future resurrection, however, is also a present experience, so that in the same epistle, Paul can say that his aim is "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead" (3.10f.). Resurrection is used here in two ways in a single sentence, it is both what the apostle already experiences in conjunction with Christ's suffering and death, and also that which he hopes to attain.<sup>176</sup> The

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<sup>176</sup> J. Moltmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 138f.: "The Christian Hope, however, is not a one-way street on which one leaves the present behind in order to flee into the future. It has a two-way traffic, as it were. For it draws the future into the suffering of the present. This implies for Christology that Jesus' resurrection is by no means only an arrow pointing to the hitherto unknown future of God and man, but that this future has become flesh in Jesus, the crucified, and thus become involved in the present. Resurrection, life and freedom did not merely dawn in Jesus, so that we would now have some reason to hope for these things. They were also mediated through Jesus to those who live in darkness and in the midst of death. This is the meaning of the cross of the risen Christ. The prolepsis or anticipation of the future that was



first is giving substance to the second. This transition is also evident in Galatians. When he begins with "Paul, an apostle (not from men, nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised from the dead).... grace to you and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from the present evil age". (Gal 1.1ff.), he bases the divine origin of his apostleship on his understanding of Christ as one raised from the dead by God. However, when he goes on to speak of himself as crucified together with Christ, and as having died to the law in order to live in God with a life which is not his own but the life of Christ in him (2.19f.), it is not resurrection in relation to parousia which is dominant, but resurrection in relation to death, i.e. resurrection as a means to a life which continues because it is life "in" and "with" Christ.

Life through death and life in death is the secret both of Christ (2 Cor 13.4) and of the apostle (2 Cor 1.8f.), and in this way God is apprehended as God. Further, since for Paul death was associated with sin in a way it is not for us, death and resurrection expose to view the ultimate issues of human life under God.

Paul does not say that the death of Christ was brought about by sin, but that it was on account of sin and for the purpose of dealing with it (Ro 8.3, 1 Cor 15.3, 2 Cor 5.21, Ga 1.4). Therefore, the death of the Christian with Christ is death to sin, a crucifixion of the old man and the destruction of the body of sin. The

176 (contd.)

seen in his resurrection was embodied in his existence for others and in the vicarious mediator of freedom, justice, and salvation that one had seen in his cross. Jesus' resurrection may have been understood as a sign of hope for a god-forsaken mankind. But only his cross was the real mediation of this hope for the hopeless. Thus the cross is the present form of the resurrection. The coming glory of God is mirrored in the face of the crucified one. We are therefore able to say that Jesus' resurrection is only indirectly, but the meaning of his cross is directly the foundation of the Christian hope for justice and life."

resurrection life, however, which Christ lives is life to God. At this point Paul hovers between the present and the future. He can refer both to the Corinthians' resurrection as future and to the Christians' resurrection as present. It would not be fruitful to attempt to discriminate between death and resurrection in this complex of thought and to assign more importance to one than to the other, but in view of the longstanding tendency to stress the death of Christ in Paul's thought almost to the exclusion of everything else, it may be observed that in one respect ~~resurrection~~ resurrection is here more important.

The death which Christ died to sin once issues in a life which is lived permanently to God. In reference to the Christian this can become: "For if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, now that we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life" (Ro 5.10) or: "You have died to the law through the body of Christ, so that you may belong to another, to him who has been raised from the dead in order that we may bear fruit for God" (Ro 7.4). To be "in Christ" is to be of the new creation, i.e., to belong through death and resurrection to him who through death and resurrection lays claim to all men, whether dead or alive (2 Cor 5.14ff., Ro 14.7ff.). Christ's resurrection, however, is more than the vindication of him ab extra by God: it brings to light the quality of his death as a death to sin and as an act of supreme obedience and righteousness, in revealing his life as a life to God. Paul can, therefore, see resurrection as underlying that justification by faith which is the only proper relationship between man and God.

This is interpreted by the figure of Abraham in Romans, who is the prototype of such a relationship, and who, in contrast to Adam, the parent of that life of all men in which they die, is the parent of all believing men. The faith in question here is not faith in general, but a specific trust in the God who is able



and powerful to fulfill his purpose and his promise. In this situation faith in God must take the form of faith in him as the one who raises the dead in imitation of his original act of creation and of calls (Ro 4.16-21). Such faith, which is already foreshadowed in Abraham at the very beginning of the Jewish religion, Paul sees as having sprung to life and as having been established at the heart of things in Christian faith. This is faith in "him that raised from the dead Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (4.24f.). Here justification is connected casually not with death but with resurrection, and Paul calls it "justification of life" in 5.18. In Ro 8.1-18, deliverance from the law, sin and death, justification, righteousness, life, the possession of the spirit and the sonship of God which goes with it, these are all drawn together, and the pivot of the thought is the resurrection life already conveyed to mortals by the spirit. One has, however, too little evidence to be able to speak definitely of a gradual evolution of Paul's thought, but it is possible to see resurrection, from being primarily an adjunct of the end, becoming the centre of Christian belief, indeed its starting point, which is to govern what lies between beginning and end. So far from its being an adjunct of the end, the end is now "read off" from it, and understood (as in 1 Cor 15) as the final putting on of the spiritual body of the glorified heavenly man, who is both the eschatological Adam and a life conferring spirit, or as the clothing with a heavenly habitation and as the climax of a process of the wearing away of the old or outer man of this creation by the constant renewal of the new man in Christ. The word "body" here means essentially "person", and need not bind Christian hope to the particular anthropology which Paul and his contemporaries may have held.

It is thus of the essence of the Christian faith that within the temporal order a real beginning is possible which is new, and which is from God. Paul expressed this in terms of death and resurrection with Christ.

### 3.6 Summary

- 1) The ideas and expressions in 1 Corinthians 15.3ff. show a continuity with Palestinian outlook in view of textual criticism, form-critical study and tradition-history.
- 2) These traditions, circulated in the Palestinian community, were not yet fixed in a confessional formula.
- 3) Probably the tradition became fixed in a formula, together with its interpretative expansion within Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity.
- 4) Paul received the formula as the determinate tradition of Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity.
- 5) The formula, however, is totally oriented by Paul towards his opponents at Corinth, arguably Proto-Gnostics who relinquished the preaching of the theologia viatorum and theologia crucis and surrendered to the conviction: "If Christ is risen, so are also his people."
- 6) Paul, adopting the formula and in basic agreement with the apocalyptic idea of the formula, instructed the Corinthians that the event which is revealed in the cross and the Easter experiences points back to the promise of God and forward to an eschaton in which his divinity will be revealed as "all in all" and in which one can participate by hope only. The event is, therefore, for Paul an eschatological event which has its goal in future revelation and universal fulfilment. It points beyond itself, and even beyond Jesus, to the coming revelation of the glory of God. What happened to Jesus is understood by Paul as the dawn and assured promise of the coming glory of God overall, as a victory of life from God over death. Therefore, in Paul's mind the dialectic between cross and resurrection is an open dialectic, which will find its resolution and synthesis only in the eschaton.



7) Paul's theology of resurrection runs along two lines: the dogmatic and the empirical. The dogmatic line is totally determined by and orientated towards Paul's understanding of eschatology. 1 Cor 15 belongs to this line, together with other books (1 Thessalonians, Philippians).

The second line of Paul's thought on resurrection is empirical and experiential and is closely connected with the life of the spirit.

These two lines of thought on resurrection are not brought into systematic relationship, but rather they overlap at times.

It is evident that resurrection is for Paul both what he already experiences in conjunction with and in Christ's suffering and death, and also that which he hopes to attain. However, since Paul's epistles are ad hoc letters, what Paul says in them arises from the several different situations to which they are addressed.

### SECTION III

#### A STUDY OF THE EASTER NARRATIVES IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

#### Chapter 4 Mark 16.1-8

##### 4.1 Textual Criticism

There are three different groups of manuscripts concerning Marcan endings:<sup>1</sup>

The longer ending, the shorter ending and the Freer logion.

(A) The longer ending = Mk 16.9-20.

(B) The shorter ending: "But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And after this, Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation Amen":

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξηγγείλαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας. ἀμήν.

(C) The Freer logion: "and made their defence saying this age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan who by unclean spirits does not allow the true power of God to be apprehended; wherefore reveal thy righteousness now. They were speaking to Christ and Christ made the reply to them that the limit of years of Satan's power is fulfilled but other terrible things draw near and on behalf of these sinners I was delivered up to death, that they might turn to the truth and sin no more, in order that they may inherit the spiritual and immortal glory of righteousness, that is in heaven.":

καὶ οὕτως ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν σατανᾶν ἐστίν, ὁ μὴ ἐᾶν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀπάθαρτα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι δύναμιν· διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψον σοὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἡμεῖς. ἐκεῖνοι ἔλεγον τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προσέλεγεν ὅτι πεπληρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐργίζει ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἁμαρτησάντων παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν· ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning manuscripts, see: The Greek New Testament, ed., K. Aland, M. Black, B.M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, Stuttgart, 1966, pp. 196-198.



The evidence is decisively against the three endings given above. Although widely attested, the longer ending is omitted by the principal members of the Alexandrian A, B, the African Latin K, and the Antiochian Sy families, supported by the ancient versions and Eusebius.

The shorter ending is even less well attested.<sup>2</sup>

L and ψ have both readings and so bring doubt upon each, while 099 and 0112 are late uncial fragments of the seventh century. The style and diction of the two readings tell strongly against their originality, since they contain words, phrases, and constructions not otherwise found in Mk. This is true also of the Freer Logion which appears after verse 14 only in W. In all three cases, the subject matter is manifestly that of a later period.

Patristic testimony, Tatian, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, shows that the longer ending was added at an early date. From the evidence as a whole the only conclusion one can draw now is that the present ending of the Gospel (16.9-20) is not original Marcan Text.

However, we discuss this problem later again from the literary critical point of view.

#### 4.2 Empty Tomb Story

##### A. Materials

The oldest testimony concerning the resurrection in the Gospels, not merely in the literary sense, but also from the point of view of the tradition-history,

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<sup>2</sup> cf. B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, London, 1924, p. 336. He understands the shorter ending as "obviously an attempt by some early editor to heal the gaping wound" and "as additional evidence for a text that ended with ἐφορούντο γάρ."

is the account in Mk 16.1-8.<sup>3</sup>

U. Wilckens holds that "here is the very first evidence of the tendency of the tradition to bring into a narrative unity what happened at Jesus' tomb, and the Galilean appearances of Jesus."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, the two complexes of tradition, the empty tomb tradition and appearances' tradition, were originally separate, and were handed down without any explicit connection with one another.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible to exclude some phrases from the beginning of the passage as secondary additions. The core, however, is not merely pre-Marcian, but goes back to a very early stage in the history of the tradition.<sup>6</sup> U. Wilckens maintains

<sup>3</sup> So e.g., U. Wilckens (op. cit.), v. Campenhausen, (op. cit.), L. Goppelt (Christologie und Ethik, Göttingen, 1968) and W. Pannenberg (Grundzüge der Christologie, Gütersloh, 1964, "Did Jesus Really Rise from the Dead?", in: New Testament Issues, ed., by R. Batey, London, 1970, pp. 102ff.)

V.8b, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, must be excluded as a Marcan redactional addition. Also the admonition by the angel to the disciples in v.7 does not belong to the part of the original tradition.

<sup>4</sup> U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> cf. B. Klappert, Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung, Wuppertal, 1967, p. 12: "Die ursprünglich traditions-geschichtliche Selbständigkeit der beiden Ueberlieferungsstränge von den Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen einerseits und vom leeren Grab andererseits erhärten den wahrscheinlichen historischen Verlauf, dass der Aufbruch der Jünger nach Galiläa unabhängig von der Entdeckung des leeren Grabes erfolgt ist und dass die Jünger erst bei ihrer Rückkehr von Galiläa nach Jerusalem vom leeren Grab Kenntnis erhalten haben." R. Bultmann (Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, Göttingen, 1963, ET: The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford, 1963, pp. 284ff.) says that "the easter stories fall into two groups - stories of the empty tomb and stories of the appearance of the risen Lord, though there are stories that combine both." As regards the form-critical study, see e.g., L. Brun, Die Auferstehung Christi in der urchristlichen Ueberlieferung, Strasbourg, 1925, R. Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 284ff. Also, M. Alberts, "Zur Formgeschichte der Auferstehungsberichte", ZeitNTWiss, 21, 1922, pp. 259-269.

<sup>6</sup> So also, J. Jeremias, Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu, Göttingen, 1960, pp. 95-97.



that the empty tomb tradition originally belongs to an early stratum of the passion narrative.<sup>7</sup> We shall test U. Wilckens' hypothesis in a later part of this section.

Summary: The empty tomb story was elaborated at various stages of the history of the tradition, and in different ways, into a separate and distinct narrative: (a) A pre-Lucan tradition, which was supported by a pre-Johannine tradition, told how the women ran to the disciples, who are here assumed to be in Jerusalem, and how of these Peter ran to the tomb to convince himself (Lk 24.12<sup>B</sup>; cf. Jn 20.3ff.). (b) A tradition which gives a quite different account of what happened at Jesus' tomb, in which the Jewish leaders are made the principal figures in the action (Mt 27.62-66, 28.2-4, 11-15).

Since Mt 28.11-15 is an apologetic legend that goes with Mt 27.62-66 (group b), and Jn 20.3ff. (group a) is a late formation,<sup>9</sup> the material reduces itself to the one story in Mk 16.1-8.

B. Tradition-history and the significance of the empty tomb stories in the Gospels.

W. Nauck notes,<sup>10</sup> quite properly, that the empty tomb stories lack the

<sup>7</sup> Contra: R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 284, V. Taylor (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1952, p. 602.) says that "the detailed reference to the women in this verse after the similar passages in 15.40 and 47 shows that 16.1-8 stands apart from the passion narrative proper, representing a different cycle of tradition."

<sup>8</sup> cf. W. Manson (*The Gospel of St. Luke*, London, 1930.) says that "this is wanting in the Greek MS.D, and in some Latin Versions, and is probably an insertion into Luke from the narrative of John." (p. 265.) See also the chapter on Luke.

<sup>9</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 286. As regards the tradition common to the Gospels of Luke and John, see: J.A. Bailly, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, vol. 7, Leiden, 1963.

<sup>10</sup> W. Nauck, "Die Bedeutung des leeren Grabes für den Glauben an den Auferstandenen," *ZeitNWiss.*, 47, 1956, pp. 243-267.

following important theologumena:

(i) the motif of the proof from prophecy,<sup>11</sup> (ii) the traditional concept of the new aeon, that is, a common idea tied up with the idea of the resurrection of the dead among the contemporary Christians, (iii) reflection on the theology of ascension of the spirit of Jesus into heaven and its descent into hell, (iv) reflection on the mode of the risen body, as described in the appearance stories, (v) the christological motif as a basis for early christian confession and the theology of the primitive christian community. (e.g. christological titles such as Messiah, Kyrios and the Son of God. The christological motif of the empty tomb is merely related to the designation of the identity of the risen and the crucified.)<sup>12</sup>

The absence of these theological reflections implies that: (i) The evangelists, who received the tradition of the empty tomb, did not subject it to theological examination. (ii) The empty tomb stories in the Gospels have no mythological characteristics in them.<sup>13</sup> (iii) The empty tomb stories are not coloured by the

<sup>11</sup> Particularly in Mk and Mt; in Lk (24.7), and in John (20.9) one can recognize the motif.

<sup>12</sup> cf. W. Nauck, op. cit., p. 250. n. 42: "Bei Markus weist der Engel auf 'Jesus, den gekreuzigten Nazarener' hin (Ναζαρενός ist markinisches Vorzugswort: 1.24, 10.47, 14.67, 16.6; sonst nur noch Lc 4.34 = Mc 1.24 und Lc 24.19); bei Matthäus weist er auf 'Jesus, den Gekreuzigten' hin (28.5); bei Lukas spricht er von einer Weissagung Jesu, dass der Menschensohn den Sündern ausgeliefert und gekreuzigt werden müsse und am dritten Tage auferstehen werde (24.6); bei Johannes fragen die Jünger zwar nach dem 'Herrn' (20.2, 13), aber κύριος wird hier im technischen, vorchristlichen Sinne zu verstehen sein; sie fragen nach dem Verbleib ihres Herrn und Meisters, mit dem sie während seines Lebens Umgang hatten".

<sup>13</sup> cf. M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1933, p. 270: "Die Grabeslegende erinnert in keiner Weise an einen Mythos." E. v. Dobschütz (Ostern und Pfingsten, Leipzig, 1903, p. 7) says that the empty tomb stories have a mythological element in the appearance of the angels, but this has no independent significance. Similarly R. Bultmann says (op. cit., p. 290) that "The point of the story is that the empty tomb proves the Resurrection: the angel has no significance in himself, but simply plays the part of the angelus interpres."



theology of the primitive Christian community.

Then, what is the significance of the empty tomb stories in the Gospels? Concerning the problem, whether or not the stories had any significance as evidence for the resurrection of Jesus in the early Christian community, one can give no positive answer. For Mark ends his Gospel with the passage, *καὶ ἐξελθούσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις. καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπαν, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* (Mk 16.8), and it indicates obviously that for Mark the empty tomb was not the evidence that awakes the Easter faith.<sup>14</sup> For Mark, neither the moved "stone"<sup>15</sup> nor the oracle of the angel<sup>16</sup> were evidences or proofs of the event of the resurrection.

These were not convincing enough, because the stone could have been moved even by the disciples or guards (cf. Mt 28.11ff.), and the oracle of the angels was noted only by the women who were unfit to bear witness.<sup>17</sup>

Hence, there is no peculiar theological significance in the tradition of the empty tomb at the Marcan stage, nor any obvious theological significance in the tradition of the empty tomb in the pre-Markan stage.

<sup>14</sup> cf. A. Oepke, "Wie entsteht nach den Schriften des Neuen Testaments der Glaube an die Auferstehung Jesu?", Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig, 1953/54, pp. 109-115. Also see: E. v. Dobschütz, op. cit., p. 17, and G. Kittel, "Die Auferstehung Jesu", in: Deutsche Theologie, 4, 1937, p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> cf. M. Albertz, "Zur Formgeschichte der Auferstehungsberichte", ZeitNWiss, 21, 1922, p. 261. Also see, L. Brun, op. cit., pp. 27ff.

<sup>16</sup> cf. L. Burn, op. cit., pp. 16ff., R. Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 284ff.; See also F. Hauck, THNT 2, p. 193.

<sup>17</sup> cf. STB 3, p. 560.

The primitive Christian community, however, sooner or later, began to feel the need to have some apologetic evidences for the event of the resurrection and some evidences to awaken easter faith.

Perhaps, one could recognize Luke as the first Gospel that took this course, since Luke has so modified the passage Mk 16.8 as to reverse it (Lk 24.9). In the Emmaus story, there are some passages concerning the report of the women, which was confirmed by the disciples themselves. But, apparently, v.24, "some of those who were with us went to the tomb and found it just as the women had said; but him they did not see"<sup>18</sup> shows that, here, the empty tomb still plays no role of awakening the easter faith. This perhaps means that in Luke, as well as in Mark, the empty tomb does not yet constitute the evidence that calls forth the easter faith. Luke can indicate the reaction of the disciples on receiving the message from the women about the empty tomb, who regarded it as follows: "but these words seemed to them an idle tale, and they did not believe them."<sup>19</sup> (24.11).

Jn 20.3-8 shows the understanding of the empty tomb in the fourth Gospel. One may ask whether the passages point to something that awakes the easter faith, or point merely to a proof that the body was not stolen. The answer depends upon how one interprets v.8. There are two probabilities: (i) and he saw and believed, (ii) and he saw and was convinced. The latter translation seems to be a proper interpretation, for it fits the context better,<sup>20</sup> that is, he saw and was convinced

<sup>18</sup> cf. F. Hauck, *THNT* 3, p. 293: "Den einzig gültigen Beweis, der in dem Wiedersehen Jesu selbst liegen würde, haben weder die Frauen noch die Männer gewonnen."

<sup>19</sup> cf. L. Brun, *op. cit.*, p. 26, F. Hauck, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

<sup>20</sup> cf. E. v.Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 16: "Das rätselhafte, 'er sah und glaubte' ist alles andere als Osterglaube." E. Bammel ("Herkunft und Funktion der Traditionselemente in 1 Kor 15.1-11", *TheolZeit.* 2, 1955, p. 407) also holds that "Alle Schwierigkeiten verschwinden in dem Augenblick, wo man sich entschliesst, das *ἐπιστεύειν* in 20.8 nicht auf die Entstehung des Osterglaubens zu beziehen, sondern es so zu verstehen: er überzeugte sich von dem Tatbestand, die Leiche war nicht da." Also see, A. Oepke, *op. cit.*, pp. 109ff.



that the body was not there. Then, it is clear that the fourth Gospel also does not understand the empty tomb as the evidence for awaking the easter faith.

Another stage in the course of the transmission of the tradition in the canonical gospels is presented in Matthew.

In this Gospel one can observe an apologetic intention of the community concerning the empty tomb tradition, though there are some unclear and rather complicated points in the passages 27.62-66,<sup>21</sup> and 28.5-11.<sup>22</sup>

In connection with this, one may recognize another characteristic in Matthew's Gospel, that is: The empty tomb actually awakens faith to a certain extent. The motif of fear which is obvious in Mark is modified here: Mk 16.8b - "for trembling and astonishment had come upon them, and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid." Mt 28.3 - "So they departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples." In conflict with this passage, however, Mt 28.4, "And for fear of him the guards trembled and became like dead men," shows that the empty tomb is not the evidence for awaking the easter faith. So one could say that in Matthew the idea of the empty tomb as the evidence that awakes the easter faith is still not consistently held.

In the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter, "the stone" is moved to the tomb by many guards and the tomb is sealed up seven times. Nevertheless, when the resurrection occurs, it is moved away from the tomb. The guards become the witnesses of the event of the resurrection.<sup>23</sup> In the Gospel according to the Hebrews the tradition made a further development. That is, the risen one himself gave the linen cloth

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<sup>21</sup> cf. v. Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 26ff.

<sup>22</sup> cf. v. Campenhausen, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> cf. M. Goguel, La foi à la résurrection de Jésus dans le Christianisme primitif, Paris, 1933, p. 214.

to the servant of the high priest as the evidence of the resurrection.

In these later developments of the tradition, one may also find the confession at the tomb: The soldiers confessed: "(καὶ ἐξηγγήσαντο πάντα ἄκρῃ εἰδού, ἀγωνιῶντες μέγας καὶ λέγοντες) ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ἦν θεοῦ."

From the discussion so far, it is clear that the empty tomb tradition had in its oldest stage neither significance as evidence of the resurrection and as awaking the easter faith, nor significance as recorded information on the actual course of the event.

One, however, would still have the question: What was the significance of the empty tomb for the faith in the risen one according to the understanding of the evangelists?

The later church in its apologetic activity altered the tradition in an important aspect, but originally the account of the empty tomb was not evidence for the resurrection. The evangelists appreciated the tradition not because they considered it as evidence for the event but rather because of its function. That is, they interpreted the account of the empty tomb not as a proof, but as an indication and a sign.<sup>24</sup> The message of the empty tomb made the hearers open to the self-manifestation of the risen one, by and through which he shows himself as the Messiah and the Lord and the Son of God to the people, and by which belief in Jesus of Nazareth, who was sent by God and was crucified, is awakened. That is, the oracle of the angel pointed beyond the tomb and made clear that the Easter faith originates in or arises by means of the witness to himself. One can recognize the same understanding in Luke, whose empty tomb story has almost no apologetic tendency at all. The oracle of the angel in Lk 24.5f.: " 'Why do you

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<sup>24</sup> W. Nauck, op. cit., p. 256: "Der Bericht vom leeren Grabe sollte nicht beweisen, sondern er sollte fortweisen und hinweisen."



seek the living among the dead?" Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee", can be understood as the Lucan interpretation, namely, as the Lucan theological reflection.

The tomb, on the one hand, bore the sign of death. Therefore, those who looked for Christ at the tomb, looked for the living among the dead. On the other hand, however, the tomb was the sign of the living and the proleptic sign of eschatological life, because it was the empty tomb. The tomb is a mystery according to the understanding of these oldest interpretations that indicates death and life, the death and life of the crucified and the risen one, at the same time, for it points to the crucified as the risen and the risen as the crucified.<sup>25</sup>

#### Summary and Observation:

From the investigation so far, it is clear that in the Gospels the empty tomb story has a kerygmatic function, not in a direct way, but rather in an indirect way. The theological notions, which lie at the basis of the early evangelists' understanding of the empty tomb, have formed also the appearance stories.<sup>26</sup> The appearances too did not awaken the easter faith itself, and this is clear from the fact that the appearances were not clear in themselves, but rather caused fear<sup>27</sup> and doubt<sup>28</sup> or met with incomprehension.<sup>29</sup>

There were, however, within the framework of the appearances certain "accompaniments" that to some at least seemed unambiguous, And these are described

<sup>25</sup> W. Künneth, Theologie der Auferstehung, München, 1934, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup> cf. K.H. Rengstorff, op. cit., pp. 48ff.

<sup>27</sup> Lk 24.36-38.

<sup>28</sup> Mt 28.17b, Jn 20.25.

<sup>29</sup> Lk 24.15-29, Jn 14.4-6.

in the gospels in three ways:<sup>30</sup> 1) the display of the stigmata,<sup>31</sup> a feature which belongs to the apologetic against gnosticism, 2) the word of the risen one,<sup>32</sup> and 3) the table-fellowship.<sup>33</sup>

These distinctive "accompaniments" argue the identity of the risen one with the crucified. They refer, however, not only backwards, but forwards and so address the hearer in his own situation: The risen one manifests himself in the word and table fellowship. This may be the reason why neither the old kerygmatic form in 1 Cor 15.3f. nor the mission preaching in Acts<sup>34</sup> mentions the empty tomb as a proof of the risen Jesus. The empty tomb played a role in the primitive Christian community, but not in missionary preaching. That is, the empty tomb is met with in the Gospels, not because the primary interest of the evangelists was the proclamation of the salvation event to unbelievers, but the edification of believers and the Christian community.

Here, naturally the following question rises: What interest had early Christian preaching in the empty tomb?

One may answer the question as follows:

(i) The apologetic interest: Polemical assertions against opponents and people who doubted the proclamation of the risen one.

(ii) The theological interest, which emphasizes the empty tomb as a sign which points to the reality of the resurrection of Jesus.

The apologetic use of the empty tomb narrative appears not at the beginning

<sup>30</sup> K.H. Rengstorff (*op. cit.*, p. 52) classified into two groups: 1. "Die Wundmale" and 2. "ein für Jesus charakteristisches Verhalten".

<sup>31</sup> Lk 24.39, Jn 20.20, 27f.

<sup>32</sup> Mt 28.9f., 18ff., Jn 20.16, 21.15ff.

<sup>33</sup> Lk 24.30f., 41-43, Jn 21.13.

<sup>34</sup> cf. Acts 2.24, 13.29f.



of the transmission, but rather at a later stage. For the primitive community was driven to apologetic argumentation only when they were forced into discussion with Judaism. Thus, one may suppose that the theological meaning of the empty tomb is the older interest.

Beside the theological interest there was probably another interest in the empty tomb in the primitive Church. The clue may be found in the Sitz im Leben in which the tradition was preserved. To some degree, in contradiction to the theological significance, stands the view that all Gospel narratives have a particular interest in the actual locality of Jesus' tomb.

Johannine accounts imply a certain topographical conception.<sup>35</sup> In the Johannine account of the burial of Jesus, the short distance of the tomb from the place of the crucifixion and the setting of the grave in the middle of the garden are emphasized: "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb where no one had ever been laid."

In the Marcan text, the hearer is, at least implicitly, invited to note the locality of the empty tomb. If the word of the angel is to be understood entirely as an interpretation, then it means that the community had particular interest in noting the locality where the body of Jesus was laid. This may mean that the tradition concerning the locality of the tomb, which in the oldest stage hardly had any apologetic meaning as evidence for the resurrection of Jesus, refers to some kind of a cultic worship of the empty tomb in the early community.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the primitive community had a cultic interest in its shaping of the

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<sup>35</sup> cf. K. Kundsinn, Topologische Ueberlieferungsstoffe im Johannes-Evangelium, Göttingen, 1925, p. 43, p. 45. He remarks, "dass die schriftliche Darstellung eine fromme Betrachtung der denkwürdigen Stätte zur Voraussetzung hat." (p. 45.) Also in p. 43 he says that in John's Gospel one can notice "eine feste topographische Vorstellung als Grundlage der Darstellung."

<sup>36</sup> But it cannot be maintained that this is more than a hazardous speculation.

passion narratives, has been rightly noticed by G. Schille.<sup>37</sup> It might be possible to infer that early Christians came together at the place, which they knew as the tomb of Jesus, in order to remember his resurrection and his risen presence. If this supposition is tenable, the empty tomb had a special significance for the Palestinian community.<sup>38</sup> What was the extent and character of Mark's view of the

<sup>37</sup> G. Schille, "Das Leiden des Herrn. Die evangelische Passionstradition und ihr 'Sitz im Leben'", ZeitTheolKirch, 52, 1955, pp. 161-205.

It is generally accepted that the passion narrative circulated in the primitive Christian community at a very early period. (cf. H. Conzelmann, "History and Theology in the Passion Narratives of the Synoptic Gospels", Interpretation, 1970, pp. 181ff., G. Bertram, Die Leidensgeschichte und der Christuskult, Göttingen, 1922. See also, E. Linnemann, Studien zur Passionsgeschichte, Göttingen, 1970, esp. p. 174.

The lack of any connection between the Q stratum of tradition and that of the passion narrative could be so, not because the two complexes were handed down by different persons (cf. W. Schmithals, "Paulus und der historische Jesus", ZeitNTWiss, 53, 1962, pp. 145-160), but because of their different Sitz im Leben. The tradition of Jesus' Logia was as it were mainly the practical instruction of the primitive Christian community (Halacha). The Sitz im Leben of the passion narrative was probably the cult, "for the form it takes, that of a coherent narrative divided into pericopes, leads to the conclusion that the purpose of this tradition was not any kind of missionary preaching, nor doctrinal teaching used in the synagogue, but that of recitation in the context of a cultic memorial of the passion." (U. Wilckens, "The Tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for the faith in Jesus Christ, London, 1968, p. 72). From this view of the passion narrative, U. Wilckens postulates as follows: Not only a narrative of the passion, but also some texts such as the summaries, prophecies of the passion and resurrection of Jesus, Mk 8.31, 9.31, 10.33f., and similar passages would have been handed down, providing a powerful argument to the contrary. Had the passion narrative been recited in the cult, it would have had the resurrection narrative, the pericope concerning the empty tomb, as conclusion. (cf. U. Wilckens, op. cit., pp. 72ff.) Similarly J. Jeremias, Neutestamentliche Theologie, 1 Teil, Gütersloh, 1971, ET: New Testament Theology, Vol. 1, London, 1971, p. 300.

<sup>38</sup> cf. G. Schille, op. cit., p. 199: "Dass die evangelische Passionstradition der Begehung, genauer: der Osterbegehung der ältesten Gemeinde entstammt." Also he postulates that the empty tomb story could have had its origin in the early "Osterfeier" (Begehung am Grabe Jesu selbst?) (p. 43).



cultic veneration of the empty tomb remains rather obscure,<sup>39</sup> for how far the passage, "He has risen, he is not here, see the place where they laid him" (Mk 16.6b), is coloured by the evangelist's redaction cannot be definitely ascertained.

Probably Luke, who seems to know the tradition of the locality of the empty tomb which circulated in Jerusalem, knew also something of such a cultic veneration of the empty tomb. Luke's interest in this is, however, distinctly critical: "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" (Lk 24.5b). (This question occurs only in Lk.) Behind this redactional passage of Luke, there may perhaps be inferred a reproachful question of the Gentile Church, which is Luke's own *Sitz im Leben*, to the primitive community in Jerusalem concerning its attitude to the empty tomb, sc. its cultic veneration of the empty tomb, as well as Luke's theological reflection upon the tradition of the empty tomb, as has been discussed already.

#### 4.3 Ending of the Marcan Text

##### A Unity of the text

It is generally recognized that the report of the resurrection and ascension (Mk 16.9-20) found in the majority of the manuscripts and versions was not a part of the original Mark. In support of that is not only the lack of this report in the oldest tradition,  $\aleph B K s y^s$ , and the testimony of Eusebius and Hieronymus, but also the divergent character of the text in respect to the other Gospels.<sup>40</sup> This section (the longer ending), which is a rounded-off composition strongly

<sup>39</sup> J. Jeremias tends to view Mk 16.6b as the evangelist's reproach to the primitive community in Jerusalem concerning its attitude to the empty tomb, sc. its cultic veneration. (cf. *Golgotha*, Leipzig, 1926).

<sup>40</sup> A bibliography on the question of the Marcan ending is given by R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and p. 437, W.G. Kümmel, "Das Urchristentum", *TheolRund*, 17, 1948-1949, p. 9, n. 18, p. 23, n. 1., and E. Helzle, "Der Schluss des Mk. und das Freer-Logion", *TheoLitZeit*, 85, 1960, pp. 470ff.

dependent upon Luke,<sup>41</sup> must have originated in the second century, since Tatian and Irenaeus know it,<sup>42</sup> but it is not attested in Greek manuscripts of the New Testament before the fifth century (Codex W).

The Freer-logion also probably arose in the second century as a supplement to the secondary Marcan ending. The Freer-logion is a defence of the twelve which refers to the power of Satan, and gives an answer of Christ. The shorter Marcan ending attested in some manuscripts,<sup>43</sup> L ψ, and later versions between 16.7 and 16.8 (in K it replaces 16.9-20) is all the more a secondary supplement to 16.1-3.

From these various attempts to add an ending to Mk 16.8, one can recognize that the feeling arose very early that Mark could not have ended with 16.8. Matthew and Luke must also have had the same feeling, for their divergence after Mk 16.8 shows that the Mark which was expanded by them ended at 16.8. But was that the original conclusion of Mark? Till today that is disputed by many, mainly because it is thought that the predicted appearance of the risen one in Galilee (14.28, 16.7) must have been reported. But no one has yet been able to make really clear how the original ending was lost. One could hardly have remained satisfied with a loss which arose because of the breaking off of a page:

- 41 Mk 16.9 - Lk 8.2, Jn 20.11-18  
 Mk 16.10 - Lk 24.10f., Jn 16.20  
 Mk 16.12 - Lk 24.13-35  
 Mk 16.14 - Lk 24.36-49, Jn 20.19-23, 1 Cor 15.5, Mt 28.16, Lk 24.25, Jn 20.26-29  
 Mk 16.15 - Mt 28.18-20  
 Mk 16.17 - Mt 10.8, Lk 9.1, 10.17  
 Mk 16.18 - Lk 10.19, Ac 28.23-26, Mt 9.18  
 Mk 16.19 - Lk 24.3, 50-53.
- 42 See, The Greek New Testament, ed., K. Aland, M. Black, B.M. Metzger, A. Wikgren, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 196.
- 43 cf. S.E. Johnson, The Gospel according to St. Mark, London, 1960, p. 265.



and no one can say why the conclusion should have been intentionally removed. Consequently, scholarship in increasing measure is moving towards the view that Mark reached his intended end with 16.8.<sup>44</sup>

#### B W. Marxsen's interpretation

The geographical theory of the Gospel of Mark:

It is well known that E. Lohmeyer<sup>45</sup> tried to draw conclusions about the situation of the primitive community from the geographical statement in the framework and in the separate traditional pericopes. He goes so far as to maintain that hardly any geographical detail is mentioned in Mark's gospel without having a theological significance.<sup>46</sup>

Taking up this idea of Lohmeyer, Marxsen emphasizes that stronger distinction must be made between the traditional material and the work of the evangelist. The statements about places in the traditional material ought to be examined by form-criticism and in the framework particularly by redaction criticism.<sup>47</sup>

According to Marxsen's understanding, the name "Galilee" in Mark has theological significance. He argues that "Galilee" throughout has been inserted by the evangelist. "Galilee" means the place of Jesus' activity in the same way as the desert in the place of activity of the Baptist.<sup>48</sup> This is obvious from the

<sup>44</sup> e.g., W. Michaelis, R.H. Lightfoot, E. Lohmeyer, F.C. Grant, W. Grundmann, P. Carrington, A.M. Farrer, A.F.J. Klijn, W. Marxsen, R.C. Heard, J. Schreiber, J.B. Tyson, W.C. Allen, L.J.D. Richardson.

<sup>45</sup> E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1936. Also his Das Evangelium des Markus, Göttingen, 1959.

<sup>46</sup> E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1936, p. 162.

<sup>47</sup> W. Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus, Göttingen, 1952, p. 162.

<sup>48</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., pp. 57ff., pp. 44ff.

fact that in Mark the crucial proclamation of Jesus is always made in Galilee. The fact that Mark concentrates Jesus' ministry so largely in Galilee is doubtless connected with the significance of Galilee and the Galilean community for the primitive church at the time of Mark.<sup>49</sup>

Marxsen's Interpretation of Mk 14.28 and Mk 16.7:

After examining geographical statements in Mark's Gospel, Marxsen refers to the role played by Galilee in the passion story. He attributes special importance to the two passages Mark 14.28 and 16.7, where it is stated, that the risen one will go ahead to Galilee, and will appear there. Against many scholars,<sup>50</sup> Marxsen attempts to understand the close of Mark's Gospel on the assumption that it actually ended with 16.8. He disputes the fact that the passages usually adduced for the purpose, 14.50, 14.27f., 16.7, Jn 16.32, 18.8, support the thesis that the disciples fled to Galilee. Marxsen does not take the two passages 14.8 and 16.7 as allusions to Jesus' appearances in Galilee, or as a promise of the parousia, like Lohmeyer,<sup>51</sup> but rather as being connected with the importance which the Christian community had at the time when Mark's Gospel was written.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>50</sup> e.g., R. Bultmann assumes that the original ending of the Gospel after Mk 16.8, which must have reported appearances of the risen one in Galilee, has been lost. (cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 285, n. 2).

<sup>51</sup> cf. E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1956. See also his Das Evangelium des Markus, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1959. On 16.7: He argues that ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε does not refer to appearances of the risen Lord, but to the parousia. Marxsen argues against Lohmeyer that the linguistic evidence, pointed out by Lohmeyer, is not sufficient and cannot support the contention, for, as Marxsen understands it, ὄσῃν means simply "to see" and has no connection with the parousia. (See: W. Marxsen, op. cit., pp. 83f.)

<sup>52</sup> W. Marxsen, Der Evangelist Markus, Göttingen, 1952, ET: Mark the Evangelist, Nashville, 1969, pp. 85f.: "If, therefore, Mark inserts 16.7 into an already existing context, then we are dealing with the latest stratum reflecting the evangelist's own situation. But then this redactional note cannot deal with



Marxsen's thesis on Mark's understanding of the parousia:

Marxsen maintains that Mark had expected the imminent parousia. Matthew and Luke, however, had already realized this error and accordingly altered their parallel text (Mt 28.7f., Lk 24.6-9). The later ending of Mark is possibly closely connected with the delay of the parousia. Marxsen understands the differences between Matthew and Mark in the Easter story also through the fact that Mark was in imminent expectation of the parousia,<sup>53</sup> but for Matthew the time had already begun to lengthen. So, Matthew provided an interim solution by interpolating a period of missionary work. Marxsen describes the conclusion of Matthew's Gospel (28.16-20) as being timeless, for after the conclusion of the time of Jesus, Matthew makes a new era begin which continues till the end of the world. And before the time of Jesus there was, for Matthew, the time of the Old Testament. So, Matthew made the time of Jesus an epoch between two others by

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52 (contd.)

an appearance of the risen Lord awaited in Galilee: in Mark's context this passage can only refer to the expected parousia. If this is correct, several questions are immediately taken care of. The interruption at v.8 becomes intelligible. If Mark intends to prepare for the parousia in vs.7, then its coming cannot be referred to after vs.8. The phrase 'see him' is future for Mark. The parousia is still to occur. At the same time, we understand the Gospel's orientation to Galilee. It is there that Mark awaits the parousia. We see why Galilee is a midpoint, why (in Mark's time) the communities "gather" by the Sea..... This explanation is compatible with the text as we have it and no longer requires that we postulate a long conclusion whose content would in any case be open to serious question."

<sup>53</sup> H. Conzelmann ("Geschichte und Eschaton nach Markus 13", *ZeitNTWiss*, 50, 1959, p. 211.) argues that in Mark 13 delay of the parousia is already playing a part. So, Matthew and Luke are not the first to do this. G. Strecker (*Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, Göttingen, 1962, p. 42) argues that the synoptic gospels are similar in their understanding of the delay of the parousia. E. Dinkler holds the similar thesis. (E. Dinkler "Geschichte und Geschichtsauffassung, II A Neutestamentlich", *RGK* (3), 2, cols. 1476-82.)

turning Mark's design into a history and making it a continuous progression.<sup>54</sup>

Marxsen is in close agreement with Conzelmann's study on Luke. Marxsen makes a comparison of the theological conception of the Gospels of Mark and Luke and concludes that the leading theme in Mark is place, in Luke it is time. In Mark, a unity is provided by the orientation towards a place, but Mark does not yet consider the problem of "time" in the sense of its continuity: Luke is the first to do this. In Luke, time is the factor of his historicizing presentation and the statements about place are only a means of carrying out his conception.

Concerning the problem that Acts, which also came into being later than Mark's Gospel, knows nothing of a community in Galilee, (except Acts 9.31), Marxsen would have to attempt to explain it by the hypothesis that the Christian community which had existed in Galilee in 66 had meanwhile perished during the Jewish war.

Marxsen's thesis on the community in Jerusalem and Luke:

Marxsen thinks that the community in Jerusalem is an invention by Luke, insofar as it could not have been in existence at the time after the year 70, when he wrote his work. And Luke did not try to vindicate any particular place, but to assimilate the problem of what had been experienced meanwhile in the lengthening period of time. For behind Luke there stands a community which has to solve the delay of his parousia, and tackle the problem of the second and third generations. This Gospel is only orientated towards Jerusalem insofar as within Luke's two books the city has the significance of a central point, which is at the same time a point of transition. In Luke the salvation history is orientated towards

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<sup>54</sup> G. Strecker (*op. cit.*) has demonstrated this historicizing work of Matthew in detail. H. Conzelmann (*Die Mitte der Zeit*, Tübingen, 1954, ET: *The Theology of St. Luke*, London, 1960.) has done the same for Luke's historical books.



Jerusalem as the place of the temple. And "the third era" begins in Jerusalem. Until then, in Luke, the activity of Jesus has been consistently restricted to Palestine. Not until then does Luke break out of the boundaries of that land. "To turn back to Galilee would, in the opinion of the evangelist, mean a retrograde step as regards not only the place, but also its importance. Thus Good Friday, Easter and Ascension are followed by Pentecost, and the missionary period."<sup>55</sup> Luke is living in this missionary era. So it is not important for him at the time of writing his Gospel that a Christian community still existed in Jerusalem. But it was important to him that at one time the Gospel went out from Jerusalem to Gentile lands. Possibly, there is in Luke even an underlying polemic against Galilee as the early home of the Gospel, and an assertion of the equal rights of the missionary communities.

#### Summary:

Marxsen deals with Mark 16.7 especially in regard to the relationship in time of the resurrection and the parousia. The advocates of thoroughgoing eschatology use this verse as evidence for their ideas that Jesus has supposed no interval of time between resurrection and parousia. Marxsen, however, is not enquiring about Jesus' idea, but about the ideas of the evangelists. Mark could not have understood resurrection and parousia as events following each other directly, for he was writing his Gospel between these two events. But he relates them to each other by eliminating the interval between them. Mark has the resurrection behind him: the era of the resurrection, the rule of the risen one has begun and will be concluded by the approaching parousia. But this era is not continuous progression

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<sup>55</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 72.

of time in Mark. Instead, by his editorial work, it has become reduced essentially to a transition between resurrection and parousia.

A critical appreciation of Marxsen's conception and method:

(i) One should emphasize the fruitful possibilities of redaction criticism as a method. Nevertheless, one should utter a warning against possibly employing too great subtlety, a danger which in our opinion Marxsen has not avoided.

It is open to question whether the authors of the Gospel thought matters out in the detail that Marxsen believes he can recognize.

(ii) Marxsen's conclusion about the historical situation when Mark's Gospel came into being, might be still an open question, in spite of the fact that he has given a convincing picture of Mark. One could not think it at all impossible that this Gospel should have received the shape which in fact it possesses, even if it had been written in Rome according to the evidence of the tradition of the early Church in the time between 66 and 70: for Mark who was most probably a Palestinian Jewish Christian, possibly a native of Galilee, could follow the events in Palestine even from Rome, without it being necessary to assume his presence in Galilee. There are too many arguments against Marxsen's hypothesis of Mark's composition in Galilee for the primitive community which had left Jerusalem: The explanation of Jewish customs (Mk 7.3f., 14.12, 15.42), the translation of Aramaic words (Mk 3.17, 22, 5.41, 7.11, 9.43, 10.46, 14.36, 15.22, 34), the reference to Roman marriage law (Mk 10.12), the use of many Latin expressions (Mk 4.21, 5.9, 15, 6.27, 37, 7.4, 12.14, 42, 15.39, 44.45) not least the fact that Jesus' message and actions are addressed to Gentiles as well (Mk 11.17, 13.10, 14.9): for these reasons the composition for Gentile Christian communities seems to fall little short of demonstration. No trace can be observed of a Jewish Christian theology and bias, which would certainly have to be present if the Gospel of Mark had come into being in the primitive



community which had fled from Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

(iii) How could Mark be supposed to have eliminated the interval between resurrection and parousia, when more than thirty years had elapsed from the resurrection until the writing of the Gospel? Is the evangelist supposed not to have been conscious of time, in the sense of a delay of the parousia?

(iv) It might be possible that in the situation presupposed by Marxsen the expectation of the parousia could have become intensified. But in that case the question arises why Mark is supposed to have composed a Gospel in writing when he expected the parousia to be so imminent. Can a work like the Gospel of Mark be composed in a period of such confusion?

#### 4.4 The motif of fear and amazement in Mark and the significance of the Easter narrative in Mark.

##### A. Form-critical study of the motif of fear and amazement

##### 1) Mark

There are some ten passages that depict the motif of amazement in Mark: 1.22, 27, 2.12, 4.41, 5.20, 42, 6.2, 7.37, 9.6, 12.17.<sup>57</sup> Of these, three passages,

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<sup>56</sup> cf. H. Rohde, Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Methode, Hamburg, 1966, ET: Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, London, 1968, pp. 138ff.: E. Rohde considers it to be a task for redaction-critical research in particular to use its methodological presuppositions for an examination of Mark's Gospel in order to find a Sitz im Leben. He considers that it might perhaps be defined as being in the period of 66 to 70 in the community in Rome, which consisted mainly of Gentile Christians. He appreciates the work done by Harder, who understands Mark 13 as a Christian revision of apocalyptic material which treated of the extension of the Christian Church and its controversy with the synagogue and the state government. cf. G. Harder, "Das eschatologische Geschichtsbild der sogenannten Kleinen Apokalypse Markus 13", in: Theologia Viatorum, 4, Berlin, 1953, pp. 71-107.

<sup>57</sup> The passages which are not included here will be considered in the next section (10.24, 26, 11.28, 9.15, 10.32a, 16.8).

1.22, 6.2, 12.17, are not linked with miracle stories, but with the teaching of Jesus. In 6.2, 9.6, the motif of amazement occurs in the middle of the narratives. The particular feature of the literary style of all these passages is that the motif is depicted by the generalizing third person plural of the verb with no specified subject. The subject of the passage, 4.41, *καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν, καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, is not obvious. However, one can understand the subject of *ἐφοβήθησαν* as non-personal third person plural, rather than as disciples, for this passage is a conclusion of the miracle story. One may not understand the motif of amazement in 4.41 merely as an expression of the misunderstanding of the disciples, even though in this story the motif of the misunderstanding of the disciples is dominant. For Matthew (8.27) alters the Marcan text like this: *οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες*. This means that Matthew understands the passage, Mark 4.41, not as signifying of the amazement of the disciples, but as being a common formula of the conclusion of the miracle story. Nor can one understand this interpretation of the Marcan text as a typical Matthean theological tendency, of which Mt 8.27 is an example. Rather it might be more reasonable to understand that here Matthew interprets the Marcan text (4.41) just as the common formula of the conclusion of a miracle story which is precisely what Mark, too, meant. If this is the case, one may observe that in Mark 4.35-41 there are two motifs in parallel: the misunderstanding motif of the disciples (v.40) and the motif of amazement, which characterizes the miracle stories.

The meaning of *φοβεῖσθαι* in 4.41 and *ἐκφοβος γίνεσθαι* in 9.6 is the same as that of *ἐξιστάειν* (2.12, 5.42), (1.22, 6.2, 7.37) and *θαυμάζειν, ἐκθαυμάζειν* (5.20, 12.17). The fact that in the LXX Hebrew words meaning



"fear" are often translated into Greek words meaning "amazement", might indicate that there is no strict difference between "fear" and "amazement".<sup>58</sup>

The amazement motif, however, is not restricted to one or two terms alone. There are in Mark different expressions which imply the same motif: ἐξίσταναι (2.12, 5.42), ἐκπλήσσειν (1.22, 6.2, 7.37), θαυμάζειν (5.20, 12.17), ἐκθαυμάζειν (4.41, 9.6) and φοβεῖσθαι, ἑκφοβος γίνεσθαι. In post-Markan texts, the verb, θαυμάζειν,<sup>59</sup> tends to become the dominant term for "amazement".

## 2) Matthew

Matthew omits the passage, Mk 1.27, together with the whole story, and abbreviates the passages Mk 5.20, 42 and 9.6 by abbreviating stories. One, however, cannot say that Matthew has no particular interest in the motif of amazement which is so prominent in Mark. For instance, Matthew attaches the motif of amazement to a miracle story where the parallel text in Mark has no motif of amazement at all: e.g., Mt 21.20, "When the disciples saw it they marvelled, ἐθαύμασαν, saying, 'How did the fig tree wither at once?'" Beside this, Mt 12.23, which belongs to a common source with Luke, and 9.33, which is a modification of the same story (Mt 12.33), include the same motif.

Concerning, then, the motif of amazement in Matthew, the following three points must be taken into account:

(i) In Matthew 9.8, Matthew alters the motif of amazement into the motif of fear, and on the contrary the motif of fear (Mk 4.41) into the motif of

<sup>58</sup> cf. Ex 15.11, 34.10, Dt 28.58, 2 Chr 15.5, Job 4.1, Ps 44(45).5, 64(65).5, 67(68).36, Jr 2.12, Eze 27.35, 32.10, Zch 14.13. cf. ThW. III, pp. 32ff.

<sup>59</sup> One can see this tendency even in the manuscript tradition: e.g., in MS:W.1.27: ἐθαύμαζον, 2.12: ἐξίσταναι is modified into θαυμάζειν (W).

amazement (Mt 8.27). This means that these two motifs are not clearly differentiated, and this is not a trend peculiar to Matthew, but a general tendency.

(ii) Matthew states explicitly the subjects of the verbs in all passages which depict the motif of amazement, except at Mt 22.21 (par. Mk 12.17): e.g., ὄχλοι (9.8, 33, 12.33, 15.31), ἄνθρωποι (8.27), μαθηταὶ (21.20) and αὐτοὶ (13.54). Probably the reason why Matthew states the subject explicitly is that the Marcan usage of the generalizing third person plural might be strange for Matthew. This does not mean, however, that Matthew has a particular interest in the subjects, for subjects are presented always by general words: e.g., ὄχλοι, ἄνθρωποι, αὐτοὶ, μαθηταὶ, except at 21.20, καὶ ἰδόντες ἐθαύμασαν...

(iii) The literary expression for the motif is to a certain extent stereotyped in Matthew. θαυμάζειν is used often as the term that depicts the amazement motif. Matthew modifies the Marcan text three times by employing θαυμάζειν : Mt 8.27 = Mk 4.41, Mt 15.31 = Mk 7.37, Mt 22.21 = Mk 12.17. In two (Mt 9.33, Mt 21.20) of the three passages that have their roots in other sources than Mark, θαυμάζειν is used. Moreover, the literal style of the sentences which depict the motif is also fixed. In most cases, the sentences run as follows: a) οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες, (8.27, 9.33, 12.23, 13.54, 21.20), b) ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν..., (9.8, 15.31). Thus, strictly speaking, the category of the so-called "Akklamationsformel"<sup>60</sup> or "Chorschlussformel"<sup>61</sup> at the conclusion of the miracle stories is applicable and is observable only in the Gospel of Matthew in the synoptic Gospels.

<sup>60</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, Göttingen, 1921, ET: The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford, 1963, p. 266.

<sup>61</sup> M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1963(4), p. 28.



## 3) Luke

In Luke, Mark 8.2 and 7.37 are omitted; the latter together with the whole story. The omission of the passages may not be due to the presence of the motif itself, but to the content of the stories. In the parallel passage to Mk 5.20, somehow, Luke omits only the motif. Probably, it might be the case that Luke judges the motif improper to the context.

It is to be noted also that in Luke no distinction is made between "amazement" and "fear". In Mark 2.12, only the motif of "amazement" occurs, whereas, in the parallel passage (Lk 5.26), both "amazement" and "fear" are recorded. And to Mark's "fear" in 4.41, Luke, at 8.25, adds "amazement".

It is a characteristic of Luke to "historicize" his narratives. To each character Luke attributes a certain psychological motive, so that his readers may understand why, for example, a character, or characters, is, or are overcome by amazement and fear. Therefore, the generalising third person plural of a Marcan text, whose subject is not defined, is given a definite subject in a Lukan text, as, e.g. in Lk 8.56, where Luke modifies Mk 5.42b ("And immediately they were overcome with amazement") into: "And her parents were amazed." Here, one notes that it was in order to depict the scene as an actual event, that Luke altered the subject, for actually it was only her parents that were present.

On similar lines, the phrase, "For they were exceedingly afraid" (Mk 9.6), is put between Peter's speech and the motif of the cloud, and one can understand the passage as an insertion. On the other hand, however, in Luke 9.34 the order of the motif of the cloud and the motif of fear is altered, so that the reason for the disciples' fear may become clear. And this tendency to "historicization" and "psychologization" in Luke is observed even more clearly in the passages which originate

in other sources than Mark, e.g. Lk 5.9, 7.16, 9.43, 11.14.

Another particularity of Luke in the conclusions to his miracle stories is the phrases "praising God". This phrase occurs in Mark only once (2.12) and in Matthew twice (par. Mk 2.12 and Mt 15.31). In contrast with this, "praising God" appears often in the miracle stories of later Christian literature.<sup>62</sup> The same tendency, viz. to conclude the miracle stories with the motif of praising God, is also observable in Hellenistic literature,<sup>63</sup> with which Luke, of all the Synoptists, is most in agreement. He brings the phrase in the parallel passage to Mk 2.12 (Lk 5.26), and at 7.16, 9.43, 13.17, 17.15, 18.43.

In inverse proportion to this, in Luke the motif of amazement and fear is less prominent. For Luke historicizes and psychologizes the motif of amazement and fear by attributing these emotions to a character in the story and on the other hand, adopts the formula of "praising God" as a conclusion of the miracle stories. The tendency naturally comes from the redactor's theological point of view, that is, the redactor understands the miracles of Jesus as the particular events which manifest the power of God in the middle of salvation history.

R. Bultmann holds that the motif of amazement and fear belongs to the hellenistic milieu and the formula of "praising God" originates within the Jewish Christian milieu.<sup>64</sup> It is to be noticed that the motif of amazement and fear was

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<sup>62</sup> cf. E. Peterson, *Eis Theos*, Göttingen, 1926, pp. 193ff.

<sup>63</sup> O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, Giessen, 1909, pp. 108f.

<sup>64</sup> R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 241.



popular in the hellenistic milieu to a certain extent,<sup>65</sup> but, since this motif is observed also in the LXX and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, one may say that it is common also amongst contemporary Jews.<sup>66</sup> Bultmann is right in holding that the motif of praising God, which makes use of the term, *δοξα*, or its derivatives, belongs to the biblical Jewish tradition.<sup>67</sup> Yet, perhaps, it is questionable whether or not one can understand it simply as stemming from the Jewish tradition, when the motif of praising God is used as the ending of a miracle story in a Lukan text. For in the Gospels, Luke, which is to be considered as the most hellenistic text of them all, is the first to use the motif of praising God as the conclusion of miracle stories. Therefore, one might say, that it is characteristic of Luke that, although, as far as his terminology and style are concerned, he stands on the same line as the Old Testament and follows LXX-biblical style, he adopts the motif of praising God for the end of his miracle stories.

In Luke, the crowd who sees the miracle of Jesus praises God, who manifests his power through the miracle. That is, people see the hand of God in Jesus, the performer of the miracle. This points to Luke's Christology, that is, Jesus is God's instrument.<sup>68</sup>

In contradistinction to this, Mark directs his attention simply to the acts of Jesus themselves.

<sup>65</sup> cf. G. Bertram, *ThW* II, pp. 28ff. e.g. p. 28 (ET): "In the religious sphere, it is particularly the epiphany of deity which arouses wonder (Hom. Od., 1,323; 19, 36; II., 3, 398; Hom. Hymn. Ap., 135; Vergil. Aen., III, 172; Lk 24.41). The same feeling is kindled by miracles and by teaching of priests and prophets as the mediators of revelation (Plat. Phaedr., 257c). Astonishment at the *δῶματα* and *ἐπερῆ* of the deity is the basis of worship. There are innumerable examples of religious usage in Aelius Aristides."

<sup>66</sup> cf. G. Bertram, *ThW*, II. pp. 29ff.

<sup>67</sup> cf. G. Kittel and G. v. Rad, *ThW* III, pp. 236ff.

<sup>68</sup> cf. H. Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit*, Tübingen, 1954, ET: *The Theology of St. Luke*. London, 1960, p. 184.

### Conclusion:

It is popular in Hellenistic folklore to set the motif of amazement and fear at the conclusion of miracle stories.

Mark is the first evangelist to adopt on a large scale the same method for the miracle stories of Jesus, and, in his case, by using the generalising third person plural, he indicates that amazement and fear in his own estimation of the miracle. The literary form of the motif, however, has not yet become fully determined in Mark, and the mode and style of depiction is still primitive.

Matthew takes a step further towards the determination of the literary style of the motif. But, since he uses the expression virtually as a stereotyped phrase, it is not possible to derive from it any insight into his own particular theological viewpoint. This tendency to formalize the motif is taken over by later Christian literature.

Luke adapts the motif of amazement and fear to the concrete scene (historicization). Therefore, the literary style of the motif varies from one story to another. The motif of amazement and fear does not give Luke's point of view on the miracle stories, but rather his intention is to connect the motif with the conduct of the characters in each story (psychologization).

On the other hand, Luke introduces the motif of praising God as a fixed form of expression, which is also taken over by later Christian literature.

### B. Particular usage of the motif of amazement and fear in Mark

Since we have already dealt with the passages, Mk 1.22, 27, we now treat Mk 6.2, 9.15, 10.24, 26, 32, 11.18 and 12.17, 16.8.

#### Mark 12.17:

The content of Mark 12.17 is teaching, but formally it is exactly the same as the form of the conclusion of the miracle stories. Here, the motif of amazement



and fear is attached to the end of the story, and *ἐξεθαύραζον*, a verb which is a generalising third person plural, is used. These two points indicate what is peculiar to Mark. The amazement and fear in this passage is not the response of Pharisees and the Herodians to the teaching of Jesus, but rather Mark's understanding of the story. That is, here, Mark intends to point simply to the fact that the teaching of Jesus causes amazement. Mark does not even say that "the crowd" was amazed at the teaching of Jesus, but says merely that "they were amazed at him." In contrast with Mark, Luke says "but marvelling at his answer they were silent." (Lk 20.26a) In Mark, however, such an interpretation as is noticed in Luke does not appear. In Mark, it is not his answer but Jesus himself that gives rise to amazement.

Mark 11.18:

The form of the passage, Mk 11.18, is unusual. Here, a subject, *ὁ ὄχλος* instead of a generalising third person plural, is attached: *ὁ ὄχλος ἐξεπλήσσετο ἐπὶ τῇ διδασκῇ αὐτοῦ*. The crowd's ovation at the teaching of Jesus stands in striking contrast to the trick of the scribes and the chief priests. Therefore, one may say that in this passage, the motif of amazement and the motif of *ὄχλος* are overlapping. The passage, v.18, is attached to the paragraph (11.15-18) by Mark. The paragraph itself does not refer to the teaching of Jesus. Nevertheless, Mark adds the redactional passage which includes the motif of amazement. This probably means that the idea, that the teaching of Jesus is amazing and astonishing, is one of the basic motifs in Mark. This is the reason why, this motif appears often in Mark in places where it has almost no connection with the context.

Mark 6.2:

The characteristic which we have seen is more obvious in the passage Mark 6.2:

"And on the sabbath he began to teach in the synagogue, and many who heard him were astonished." Here, many were astonished, not because of Jesus' teaching and wisdom, but also because a miracle had been performed by him, Mk 6.2c: *Ἰνὰ καὶ δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γίνονται* . Surely, however, this is strange, for Jesus has not yet done any miracle in Nazareth. In v.5 one reads: "And he could do no mighty work there, except that he laid his hands upon a few sick people and healed them." Although Jesus did not do any miracle, the crowd were astonished. On this contradiction of the contents of the narratives, one observes the fact that Mark does not intend to report a simple course of historical facts but to manifest his own view of Jesus. For Mark, the being and activity of Jesus itself is amazing and frightening. With this view of Jesus as his basis, Mark thinks that amazement and fear should accompany both the teaching and miracles of Jesus. Since this is so, it is unimportant for Mark whether or not the story actually makes mention of the teaching or miracles of Jesus. And even where it has little or only partial relation to the characters in the story, he, nevertheless, adds the motif of amazement and fear. For these are for Mark inevitable reactions to the activity and being of Jesus. Parallel to the motif of amazement and fear, v.6 expresses the motif of criticism, which has been referred to already in the parenthesis, v.4: because, in Mark's judgement, they did not understand the amazing character of the teaching and miracles of Jesus. Therefore, one could say that the paragraph, Mk 6.1-6, is not simply the account of a single episode but includes a summary of Jesus' activity together with Mark's assessment of that activity and the actor.

Mark 10.24-26:

This passage is rather complicated. Here, Mark refers to the motif twice in v.24 and v.26. Luke, however, eliminates the motif as a good stylist for stylistic



reasons. Since, in v.24, there is used the verb, ἐθαμβοῦντο, which is observable only in Mark's gospel in the New Testament, one can postulate that the motif of amazement in v.24a is Mark's insertion. On the other hand, however, because of the complicated construction of this passage, it is difficult to distinguish Mark's redaction from the pre-Markan tradition. Generally, Mark starts a sentence with a conjunction καὶ, rarely with ὅτι. Chapter 10, however, is an exception to this.<sup>69</sup> This sudden change of style in Chapter 10 might be due to the fact that here Mark transcribes conscientiously the pre-Markan tradition. If this were so, it would not be clear how far the motif of amazement and fear in v.24 and v.26 reflects the specific intention of the redactor. Moreover, in this case, unlike the other passages, a subject, "disciples", is referred to. Perhaps, Mark refers to the disciples' misunderstanding in the passage. Could it, then, be the case that Mark's intention is to say that the misunderstanding is a misunderstanding of the amazing character of Jesus' teaching? At any rate, the expression in the passage is rather awkward and insufficiently explicit.

Mark 9.15:

This passage is a parenthesis between the story of the transfiguration of Jesus and the story of the healing of a boy with an unclean spirit. It is clear from the style and contents that this passage is a Marcan redactional insertion.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> cf. M. Zerwick, *Untersuchung zum Markusstil*, Romae, 1937, pp. 1ff.; In Mk 1-9 and 11-13, καὶ is used 446 times and ὅτι 49 times (9.9%). In chapter 10, however, ὅτι is used 22 times (44.4%) and καὶ 27 times.

<sup>70</sup> The term, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, in particular is Marcan terminology. Καὶ εὐθὺς is also characteristic of the Marcan way of writing. The contents of vv.14f. and vv.16ff. are contradictory, because in vv.14, there is the crowd in the scene from the beginning; but in v.25 one reads: "when Jesus saw that a crowd came running together". H.J. Ebeling (*Das Messiasgeheimnis und die Botschaft des Markus-Evangelisten*, Berlin, 1939, p. 123) interprets v.25 to mean that the crowd has been continually increasing, but this interpretation is strained.

Here, Mark says that all the crowd were amazed merely by seeing Jesus without giving any particular reason for their amazement.<sup>71</sup>

E. Lohmeyer interprets it as follows: the crowd was pleased, for, when people were talking about Jesus, he suddenly appeared. And the rejoicing of a crowd in the passage implies the power of the being of Jesus in contrast with the disciples' powerlessness and meaningless arguments.<sup>72</sup> One may say that Lohmeyer properly points out not only the senselessness of the disciples' arguments with the scribes, but also the positive meaning of the being of Jesus which stands in contrast with the powerless disciples.

Lohmeyer, however, does not refer to the motif of amazement and fear, for he interprets the passage according to Ms Dit, *προσχαίροντες*, and explains the reason for the rejoicing of the crowd. The manuscript Dit, however, which Lohmeyer adopts, is rather secondary. It may be more sensible to understand the passage in the light of the discussion so far, as a redactional insertion by Mark to indicate the character of the being of Jesus. *Καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν*, implies that Jesus, who makes his appearance now, is an amazing being. Here, the amazement of the crowd is directed not toward a certain activity of Jesus but toward the being of Jesus itself.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> It is not correct to link this passage with v.13, by understanding it as a conclusion of the preceding story of the transfiguration on the mountain or with v.16, by understanding it as an introduction to the following healing story. Concerning the psychological interpretation of the passage see: B.H. Branscomb, The Gospel of Mark, London, 1937, and C.E.B. Cranfield, The Gospel according to St. Mark, Cambridge, 1959.

<sup>72</sup> E. Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>73</sup> M. Dibelius, op. cit., p. 78, Dibelius argues for the "mysterious atmosphere" of the passage. It might be possible to think of the passage in this way, if the passage were in the framework of the miracle story, but this is not the case of Mk 9.15.



Mark 10.32a:

"And they were on the road, going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was walking ahead of them: and they were amazed, and those who followed were afraid." Many commentators hold that the subject of ἐθαμβοῦντο is the twelve disciples and the subject of ἐφοβοῦντο is those who followed Jesus and the disciples.<sup>74</sup> Obviously, however, this interpretation does not fit the scene. Here, as Mark depicts the scene, Jesus is ahead alone, and all the others are following him. The idea that there are still others who are following the disciples is not what Mark means. Actually, in the passage a distinction between the twelve disciples and other disciples is not referred to at all. And there is no evidence that indicates the subject of ἐθαμβοῦντο as the twelve disciples. Therefore, the attempt to define the subject of the verb is mistaken, as has been pointed out by W. Wrede.<sup>75</sup>

Other commentators, for instance, V. Taylor, read the verb, ἐθαμβοῦντο (third person plural), as a third person singular: "(Jesus) was amazed and those who followed were afraid," on the basis of the Aramaic background.<sup>76</sup> One does not, however, know for certain the original Aramaic text of this passage, and the content of the text, "Jesus was amazed", would not be intelligible.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> cf. E. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, E. Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium*, Tübingen, 1926, F. Hauck, *Das Evangelium des Markus*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1931, and C.E.B. Cranfield, *op. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, pp. 275f.

<sup>76</sup> V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1952, p. 437. See also, C.H. Turner, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1928, pp. 151f. and *The Study of the New Testament*, Oxford, 1920, p. 62. C.C. Torrey, *Our translated Gospels*, London, 1936, p. 151, pp. 152ff. J.V. Bartlet, *St. Mark*, Edinburgh, 1922, p. 301.

<sup>77</sup> V. Taylor holds that θαρπεῖσθαι means "deep distress", but the term simply expresses astonishment. (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1952, p. 437.)

*Ἐθαμβοῦντο* most probably denotes Mark's own view of Jesus. For Mark, the being of Jesus itself is the amazing event. Therefore, whenever he refers to the name of Jesus, almost automatically he refers to the amazing character of the being of Jesus.<sup>78</sup> This is the connotation of the word, *Ἐθαμβοῦντο*.

Mark 16.8:

From what has been said about the motif of fear and amazement, the passage, "And they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment had come upon them, and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid", would seem to be rather appropriate as the end of Mark's Gospel. Here, again, the verb *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, is a generalising third person plural and again the motif of amazement and fear is expressed. And the passage is attached to the Easter narrative as a conclusion of the story in the same way as the concluding passage which expresses the motif of amazement and fear at the end of the miracle stories. In this case, the passage is not only a conclusion of the preceding narratives, but also a conclusion of the whole Gospel. The redactor of the Gospel who emphasizes the amazing character of the being of Jesus by employing the motif of amazement and fear at every opportunity quite consistently has recourse to the same motif again at the close.

Therefore, one should say, that the passage, 16.8, is indeed appropriate as

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<sup>78</sup> Lohmeyer maintains the same point of view. However, his explanation is too complicated, e.g. p. 200 (*op. cit.*): "Aber das ist kaum ein durchschlagender Gegengrund; denn einmal steht dieses Geheimnis für Mk unmittelbar vor seiner Offenbarung, eben dieser Gang hinauf ist ihr Beginn, und so- dann wird klar, weshalb Mk diesen Satz über den ganzen Abschnitt setzt: Er leiht den Jüngern und dem Gefolge das Wissen, das die urchristliche Gemeinde von der Bedeutung dieses Ganzen hatte, und verkleidet es in Staunen und Furcht." It seems, however, an open question whether or not Mark has such detailed, complicated ideas in this short passage, viz. 10. 32a.



the conclusion of the Gospel of Mark.<sup>79</sup> R.H. Lightfoot classifies the motif of amazement in Mark in two types, according to his so-called "two division theory":

- (1) overwhelming amazement, which is dominating in the first half of the Gospel,
- (2) religious fear and amazement, which is evoked in the second half of the Gospel.

This claim, however, to divide the motif of amazement and fear into two different categories, viz. overwhelming amazement and religious fear and amazement, is rather strange. For it would not be intelligible that the same motif of amazement and fear could express, on the one hand, the proper understanding of the miracle and, on the other, the misunderstanding of the miracle.

#### C. Significance of the Easter Text in Mark

It is not easy to maintain that Mark considers the motif of amazement and fear an improper attitude toward the being of Jesus, and so rejects it, for, if this is the case, it is not explicable why Mark should conclude the Gospel with the motif.<sup>80</sup> According to traditional Jewish ideas which have their roots in the Old Testament, "amazement" is a general way of describing the reaction to creative acts of God, and "fear" is often an expression of the pious attitude

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<sup>79</sup> cf. R.H. Lightfoot, The Gospel Message of St. Mark, Oxford, 1950, p. 37, p. 44, pp. 80ff., p. 92. See also, W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, (THNT), Berlin, 1959.

<sup>80</sup> J.M. Robinson (The Problem of History in Mark, London, 1957, pp. 68-73.) accepts that the motif of amazement and fear is obvious in Mark. His understanding of the motif, however, is determined by the so-called "numinous", in the sense suggested by R. Otto. And he maintains that Mark rejects this motif, for Mark thinks, according to Robinson's understanding, that amazement and fear stand in opposition to faith, which is the only proper attitude towards revelation. The motif, however, which is referred to in Mark cannot be defined as "the numinous"; and moreover in Mark there are no positive evidences that prove his rejection of the motif.

toward God. Therefore, this motif cannot be a motif that is to be rejected.<sup>81</sup>

In gnostic Christianity, "amazement" is counted as the highest stage in many religious experiences.<sup>82</sup> In the New Testament, Matthew might be regarded as the first evangelist who understands the motif of amazement and fear to mean religious experience: e.g.

Mk 6.51: "And he got into the boat with them and the wind ceased, and they were utterly astonished."

Mt 14.24-33: "The wind ceased. And those in the boat worshipped him, saying 'Truly you are the Son of God'."

In this passage, Matthew shifts from the motif of the misunderstanding of the disciples into christological confession. But one cannot, for this reason alone, infer that Matthew rejects the motif of amazement and fear, although generally it is true that Matthew tends to remove the motif of misunderstanding.<sup>83</sup> For, in contrast with the passage (Mt 14.32b-33), in Mt 21.20 one observes that although the parallel passage of this in Mark (11.12-14, 11.20-24) does not refer to the motif of amazement and fear at all, Matthew employs the motif in a positive way. Therefore, one may say, that in Matthew there is no distinctive account in which the motif of amazement and fear is rejected as an inadequate and insufficient experience.

In Mark itself, there are four passages which refer to the motif apparently in a negative way.

<sup>81</sup> cf. G. Bertram, *ThW*, III, pp. 29ff.

<sup>82</sup> e.g. The Gospel of Thomas, Log. 80.14f.: "Jesus said: 'Let him who seeks, not cease seeking until he finds, and when (ὅταν) he finds, he will be troubled, and when he has been troubled, he will marvel and he will reign over the All'." cf. *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed., R. McL. Wilson, Vol. 1, London, 1963, p. 297.

<sup>83</sup> cf. G. Bertram, *op. cit.*, pp. 29ff.



## a) Mk 6.2:

Here, two motifs, viz. the motif of amazement and fear and the motif of the relatives of Jesus, are considered together. However, obviously the motif of amazement and fear is not itself rejected.

## b) Mk 10.24, 26:

In this passage, the motif of amazement and fear is employed in conjunction with the motif of the misunderstanding of the disciples.

## c) Mk 6.51b:

The passage agrees with the Marcan way of writing, for a verb, ἐξίσταντο, sc. the generalising third person plural, is used and the motif is referred to at the end of the miracle story. But, by the following passage, 6.52, the motif of amazement and fear is tied up with the motif of the misunderstanding of the disciples.

## d) Mk 6.52:

The conjunction, γάρ, in Mark 6.52 may indicate that amazement is due to the misunderstanding of the disciples. In Mark, however, the conjunction, γάρ, is not always used to give the causes or reasons for a statement made in the preceding sentence. Rather, what Mark often does is to insert an explanatory passage which begins with γάρ.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, one may understand Mk 6.52 not as a passage which gives the reason for what is expressed in v.51, but as a supplement which simply expresses the misunderstanding of the disciples. That is, in v.51 Mark characterizes the paragraph as a miracle story, adopting the verb, ἐξίσταντο (a generalising third person plural), and the motif of amazement and fear. And in

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<sup>84</sup> cf. C.H. Bird, "Some γάρ clauses in St. Mark's Gospel", JournTheolStud, NS 4, 1953, pp. 171-187.

v.52, referring to the misunderstanding of the disciples, he states the motif of the misunderstanding of the disciples in parallel. Thus, after all, one cannot accept the view that Mark rejects the motif of amazement and fear as an inadequate attitude towards the divine revelation. Rather, the motif of amazement and fear firmly ties up the Marcan view of the being of Jesus.

Mark consistently maintains the amazing character of the being of Jesus; his miracles, healings, teachings, passion and even resurrection and indeed the being of Jesus itself are amazing events for Mark.

Mark refuses to understand Jesus from the traditional religious point of view, e.g. he refuses to understand Jesus from a Messianic point of view, to plot his position within the apocalyptic scheme and to view Jesus as a rabbi. Judged from this standpoint, Mark is thinking on different lines from the primitive Jerusalem community.

One might say, that Mark obtained the motif of amazement and fear originally from the miracle stories. Therefore, one can say tentatively that the Marcan understanding of Jesus has its roots in the view of Jesus as the miracle performer. The peculiarity of Mark, however, lies in the fact that Mark does not limit the motif of amazement and fear merely to the miracles of Jesus, but extends it to all the activities of Jesus. By adopting the motif, Mark intends to point to the being of Jesus as supernatural, the meaning of which cannot be easily grasped. Mark, however, does not adopt a particular concept, terminology and world view to express the supernatural character of Jesus. The centre of Mark's concern is always the being of Jesus himself. Therefore, for instance, in the story of the feeding of the five thousand (Mk 6.30-40), although Mark does not adopt the motif of amazement and fear, he intends to imply what that motif indicates, namely, the absolute meaning of the being of Jesus. In other words, to indicate the



significance of Jesus, Mark directs his eyes toward the actual history of Jesus, i.e. his miraculous deeds and his amazing words. Thereby, Mark proclaims the meaning of the being of Jesus not in terms of timeless, abstract truth, but rather within the framework of historical events, i.e. the teaching, healings and miracles. It might be possible to see this concern of Mark as the essential background to, and as creative of, the literary type, that is known as a Gospel. This essential Marcan concern is to be noticed particularly in the miracle stories and the teaching of Jesus. However, one must say that all the accounts in Mark, which tell of the amazement and fear awakened by the miracles and the teaching, are pointing to the final account, Mk 16.1-8, which has the same framework as the miracle stories. The literary form of Mk 16.1-8 is more or less the same as the usual miracle stories. Therefore in this sense, one can classify it as a miracle story. So far as the content of the passages is concerned, however, the Easter narrative in Mark is the culmination of the miracle stories, for Mark moves from the amazing reality of the being of Jesus, which is implied in each miracle story and in the teaching of Jesus, to the amazing reality of the being of the risen Jesus in the Easter narrative. At the same time, he, thereby, implies the identity of the reality of the being of Jesus in his historical life with the risen one by taking up again the motif of amazement and fear in Mk 16.8. Nor is this Easter narrative merely the culmination of the miracles: It is their pre-supposition. For the Marcan view of Jesus which is implied in all parts of the Gospel, is predetermined and supported by the Easter faith, which is intensively expressed in the passage 16.8, just as, conversely, every passage which implies the Marcan view of Jesus points to the last passage, 16.8. These two are closely interrelated and constitute together the whole Gospel.

#### 4.5 Summary:

In view of the tradition-history, one might conclude that Mk 16.1-8 is the oldest tradition (together with Lk 24.12) amongst the empty tomb stories in the Gospels.

Concerning the pre-Markan stage of this tradition, one might say, that the empty tomb tradition constituted originally the end of the passion narrative, and that the Sitz im Leben of this tradition was most probably the cult of the early Christian community.

Regarding the significance of the empty tomb tradition, one might conclude that, although in the later developed stage of the tradition, e.g. The Gospel of Peter, The Gospel according to the Hebrews, one can find confession of the empty tomb itself, in its earlier stage, this tradition had significance neither as an awakening of the Easter faith, nor as recorded information of the actual course of the event.

In its earliest stage (the pre-Markan stage), the empty tomb tradition shows two of the interests of early Christian preaching: the apologetic interest over against contemporary Judaism and the theological interest in emphasizing the empty tomb as a sign which implies the reality of the resurrection of Jesus.

The evangelist also appreciated and interpreted the tradition of the empty tomb mainly as a sign; therefore, one could say, that generally, the account of the empty tomb has an indirect kerygmatic function in the Gospels.

One must admit also, however, that the tradition (together with the tradition of the appearance) is drastically determined and coloured by each evangelist's theological viewpoint. The Easter narratives give a typical example of the process of the transmission and interpretation of the tradition (tradition-history) in New Testament times.



In Mark, the problem of the ending of the Gospel is crucial for the interpretation of the Easter text. However, the solution of this problem depends much on the question of what was Mark's intention (Redaktionsgeschichte), rather than on the history of the pre-Markan text.

Employing the method of Redaktionsgeschichte, Marxsen refers to Mk 14.28 and Mk 16.7, as being connected with the importance which the Christian community had at the time when Mark's Gospel was written. According to Marxsen's understanding of Mark, Mark expected the parousia to be at hand. For Mark, the era of the resurrection, the rule of the risen one, has begun and will be concluded by the approaching parousia. This era, however, is no continuous progression of time in Mark. Instead, by his editorial work, it has become reduced essentially to a transition between resurrection and parousia. This is the basic premise of Marxsen's interpretation of the Easter narrative in Mark. Apart from this hypothesis, however, but continuing to use Redaktionsgeschichte as a method, one observes that the problem of the interpretation of the Marcan Easter texts depends largely on the question of the motif of amazement and fear, in view of Mk 16.8.

As a result of form-critical study of the motif of amazement and fear, one notes, that in Hellenistic folklore, it is already popular to place this motif at the conclusion of miracle stories. Amongst the evangelists, however, Mark is the first to have adopted the motif in his miracle stories of Jesus, using it on a large scale and using a generalising third person plural, which indicates that the motif is Mark's own estimate of Jesus' miracles. The motif occurs so frequently in Mark, that it becomes virtually a formula. But, if it is or becomes a formula, it expresses a theological estimate. For Matthew, it is a mere formula or stereotype and does not express a peculiar Matthean idea. In Luke, historicization and psychologization of the motif are obvious: however, Luke introduces the further

motif of praising God and uses this latter as a fixed form of expression.

Particular usage of the motif in Mark is observed in these passages: Mk 1.22, 27, 6.2, 9.15, 10.24, 26, 10.32, 11.18, 12.17, 16.8, where one notes that, by employing the motif, Mark points to the activity, viz. the teaching and the miracles, of Jesus and above all the being of Jesus itself as amazing. This motif is firmly bound up with the Marcan view of the being of Jesus, which is actually the main concern of the redactor. However, Mark, emphasizing the amazing character of the being of Jesus by the motif of amazement and fear, consistently, has recourse to the same motif again and typically at the close (16.8). In this sense, one must say that the passage, 16.8, is an adequate conclusion of the Gospel of Mark and at the same time that this passage shows the peculiar character of the Marcan Easter narrative.

The literary form of Mk 16.1-8 is more or less similar to the other miracle stories in Mark. However, the account carries not only the theological connotations of the empty tomb tradition in its pre-Markan stage, but also some peculiar Marcan theological ideas on the resurrection and the being of Jesus, for the tradition has the characteristic conclusion of the evangelist, i.e. the motif of amazement and fear, which implies the identity of the reality of the being of Jesus with the risen one.

One may, therefore, draw the conclusion that this Marcan view of Jesus, implied consistently in all parts of the Gospel, is in fact pre-determined by the Easter faith, which is intensively expressed in 16.8, and conversely that every passage which implies the Marcan view of the being of Jesus points to the climax in the Gospel, viz. the last passage, 16.8.



## Chapter 5 Matthew 28.1-20

### 5.1 Form-critical Study

#### A. Empty tomb story

In the Gospels, stories of the empty tomb are mentioned in Mk 16.1-8, Mt 28.1-10 (11-15), Lk 24.1-11, Jn 20.1, 11-18.<sup>1</sup>

Mt 28.11-15 is an apologetic legend that goes with 27.62-66, and Jn 20.1, 11-18 is a late formation.<sup>2</sup> Further the accounts in Matthew and Luke are derived from Mark. According to R. Bultmann's view, the purpose of the story is to prove the reality of the resurrection of Jesus by the empty tomb. It is a reflection of that purpose that this point is expressed in the words of the Angelus interpres<sup>3</sup> (Mk 16.6, Mt 28.1f., Lk 24.5-7). The angel has no special significance in himself, but simply plays the part of the Angelus interpres. Paul says nothing about the empty tomb (cf. 1 Cor 15.3ff.), which perhaps does not imply that the story was no longer current in his day, but most probably that it was a subordinate theme with no significance for the official kerygma. The same point is suggested by the speeches in Acts. This is finally established by the fact that originally there was no difference between the resurrection of Jesus and his ascension. The distinction first arose as a consequence of the Easter legends, which eventually necessitated a special story of an ascension with heaven as a conclusion to the risen Lord's earthly sojourn. The story of the empty tomb, however, has its place

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<sup>1</sup> The classification depends on R. Bultmann's Form-critical analysis. See, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, Göttingen, 1921, ET: The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford, 1963, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> In Mark, however, what the angel says has a second point, to charge the women to send the disciples to Galilee where the risen Lord will appear to them (Mk 16.7, cf. Mt 28.7).

right in the middle of this development, for in it the idea of exaltation is already modified.

B. Appearance Stories<sup>4</sup> (Mt 28.9f., 16-20, Lk 24.13-35, 36-49(-53) Jn 20.14-18, 19-23, 24-29, 21.1-14, 15-17)

1) Matthew 28.9f., 16-20

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<sup>4</sup> See: R. Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 288f.  
C.H. Dodd ("The Appearances of the Risen Christ: An Essay in Form-Criticism of the Gospels", in: Studies in the Gospels, ed., D.E. Nineham, Oxford, 1955, pp. 11ff.) classifies the passages: Mt 28.8-10, 28.16-20, Jn 20.19-21, in the category of "concise narratives". He points out a common pattern and analyses as follows: A. The situation: Christ's followers bereft of their Lord. B. The appearance of the Lord. C. The Greeting. D. The Recognition. E. The word of Command.

He labels concise narratives Class I, and those of the "circumstantial" type, Class II. The bare pattern in Class I is expanded at certain points, but the expansions merely emphasize what is already present in the pattern, though scarcely explicit. Thus, in all three pericopae there is at least a hint of an element of doubt or fear (in Mt 28.17: "some doubted", Mt 28.10: "fear not", cf. Jn 20.20). Neither of the Matthaean pericopae has any such explicit tender of proof. In 28.18 the words of the Lord, "All authority is given to me", seem sufficient to set all doubt at rest, but in 28.9 the fact that the women touch his feet may be held to carry an implicit assurance that there is a real Person before them. Dodd suggests "that this type of Resurrection narrative carries within it, as an integral element, a suggestion that the appearance of the Lord does not bring full or immediate conviction to the beholders, who require some form of assurance: the sight of His wounds, contact with His body, or His word of authority." (p. 11f.) Each pericope works up to a significant word of the Lord. In Mt 28.10 it is no more than an injunction to the disciples to keep their rendezvous in Galilee. In Jn 20.21 it is a formal commission to the apostles in its simplest form, and in Mt 28.18-20 the commission is given a more extended form, covering a wider field: the mission to the nations, the ordinance of baptism, the threefold Name, the promise of the Lord's perpetual presence. Here the standard pattern of resurrection narrative has been used to introduce a kind of "church-order", which may be compared with the "church-order" of Mt 18.15-20. Dodd conceives Class I to present the "formed" tradition, stereotyped through relatively long transmission within a community, and Class II, the "circumstantial type", to represent a freer and more individual treatment of the still "unformed" tradition consisting of things that various people remembered having seen or having been told, and in their turn related in a spontaneous and unconstrained fashion.



R. Bultmann refers to two dominant motifs of the stories of the appearance.<sup>5</sup>

(a) The motif of proving the resurrection with the appearance of the risen Lord. This is dominant in Lk 24.13-35, Jn 20.1, 11-18 (in combination with the story of the empty tomb), 20.24-29, 21.1-14. It is but faintly developed in Mt.23.9f., because here one does not have an independent story at all, but only an appendix to the story of the empty tomb. (b) The motif of the missionary charge of the risen one. This is dominant in Mt 23.16-20, Jn 20.19-23.

Just as the first motif can enter into Mt 28.17, οἱ δὲ ἐδύσαντο and Jn 20.20, ἔδειξεν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, so both motifs are combined in Lk 24.36-49 (a: vv.36-43, b: vv.44-49) and Acts 1.3-8 (a: v.3, b: vv.4-8). Obviously the first motif should fit appearances to individuals, but by no means necessarily so, as Lk 24.36-43, Mt 28.17, Jn 20.20 show. The second motif came out in stories of an appearance to all the apostles,

<sup>5</sup> See, R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 288f.

The motifs underlying the two different types clarified by Dodd are as follows: In the Gospel narratives of Class I, which, one has reason to suppose, represent most closely the corporate oral tradition of the primitive Church, the witnesses are usually the apostolic body as a whole. Names of individuals are not mentioned. An apparent exception is Mt 28.9-10, where, in view of 28.1, the reader identifies the women as Mary Magdalen and "the other Mary". But if one was right in isolating 28.9-10 as an independent pericope, the individual names may not have been present originally. In any case, the intention in general seems to be to present the facts as attested corporately by the apostolic body, in the spirit of 1 Jn 1.1-3. Credence is invited, not on the testimony of a given witness, but on the authority of the apostolic tradition embodied in the Church. Where one has apostolic expansions of the narrative, they are directed towards meeting the objection that the apostles themselves may have had insufficient grounds for making the claims they do make. Various τεκμήρια are adduced, but these still rest upon the corporate testimony of the apostolic body. In the end it all goes back to the affirmation of that authoritative group, who say, in answer to questions raised, "That which we have seen, that which we have heard with our ears and our hands have handled, we declare to you". Either their word is to be accepted, upon the whole matter, or there is nothing further to be done.

but again that is not in any way necessary, as one can see from Jn 21.15-17 where the content presupposes that the other disciples are present, but where actually the story is concerned only with what happens between Jesus and Peter. But the primary historical fact is not that the risen Lord gave his charge to the whole body of the apostles, for just as certainly as the appearance to Paul contained in itself a missionary charge to him, so also for Peter too (1 Cor 15.5, Lk 24.34) the appearance of Christ certainly implied a charge (Lk 22.32). It is clear that the fashioning of the second motif, in Mt 28.16-20, Lk 24.44-49, Ac 1.4-8 with all the Johannine stories, are late achievements of Hellenistic Christianity (if not also in part of Hellenist Jewish-Christianity). For these stories presuppose the universal mission, as something authorized by a command of the risen Lord.<sup>6</sup> The primitive Church knew nothing of this, as Ga 2.7 shows. For, even if the task of preaching to Israel were given to the primitive Church in the certainty of the resurrection, and found its expression in the instruction address (cf. Mk 6.8-11, Mt 10.5-16, Lk 10.2-12), there could hardly have been a story of an appearance in which this charge was expressly given. For this missionary task could not be experienced as something surprising, needing express authorization, but was self-evidently given in the certainty that Jesus was risen from the dead and as the risen Lord was the coming Messiah. This and nothing else must have been the content of the oldest stories of the Easter appearances, just as it was the content of Paul's vision on the Damascus road. This is also shown in the stories of Peter's confession and of the transfiguration.

Even the stories, however, which are fashioned by the first motif no longer, with one exception, contain their original idea, in particular Lk 24.36-43, Jn

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<sup>6</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 289.



20.24-29 are late apologetic formulations. It is only in the Emmaus story that the basic thing is the knowledge that the certainty of Jesus' resurrection is identical with the certainty *ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ* (Lk 24.21). In its form, it is like the oldest of the synoptic resurrection stories, and it is the only one which expressly refers to the fundamental appearance to Peter (Lk 24.34). Thus the original Easter happenings are almost as good as overlaid by legend, that basic appearance which one reads of in 1 Cor 15.5 has its only echoes in the transfiguration, and the dominical saying in Lk 22.32, apart from Lk 24.24 and to some degree the special mention of Peter in Mk 16.7.

R. Bultmann<sup>7</sup> refers to other motifs of the Easter appearance stories: (1) Dogmatic and (2) apologetic motifs have also vitally affected the Easter stories. (3) Novelistic motifs have also affected the formulation, especially in the Emmaus story. (4) One can ask whether there has been any influence from the primitive Christian cult in the strict sense of the term (cf. Lk 24.30, 41-43, Jn 21.12f., Mk 16.14).

2) Discrepancy between the appearance stories in 1 Corinthians 15 and in the Gospel narratives.

1 Cor 15.1-8 contains the earliest account of the resurrection embodied in the apostolic message that Paul received, and subsequently handed on in the course of his preaching at Corinth. The appearances enumerated here are six in number:

1. to Peter,
2. to the Twelve,
3. to more than five hundred brethren,
4. to James,

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<sup>7</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 290.

5. to all the apostles,

6. to Paul himself.

The various narratives of the resurrection appearances in the Gospel are:

1. to the women in Jerusalem and to the eleven in Galilee, in Matthew,
2. to the two on the Emmaus road and to the eleven with them, in Luke,
3. to Mary Magdalene, to the disciples without Thomas and with him in Jerusalem, and to the seven in Galilee, in John.

Since the question to be considered here is that of the relation between the list of appearances in 1 Cor 15.1-7 and the corresponding narratives in the Gospels, only the first five in the first list come into consideration.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> However, there might perhaps be two points that need to be dealt with concerning our problems, following E.L. Allen's remarks (cf. "The Lost Kerygma", *NTStud*, 3, 1956-57, pp. 349ff.).

The first is that of the variant reading in v.5 (1 Cor 15). There is some support for *ἐνδεκα* instead of *δώδεκα* (*D\**, *G*, *lat*, *s<sup>3</sup><sub>4</sub>*, *h<sup>r</sup>*). J. Weiss (*Der erste Korintherbrief*, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1910) suggested that neither is original. On this view, the eleven were included within the "all the apostles" of v.7: a scribe who did not understand this inserted an appearance to the twelve between that to Peter and that to "more than five hundred brethren" (all that stood in the manuscript), while another scribe, intent on rectifying what he too felt was an omission, preferred to speak of the eleven. That would leave us with only four appearances. It might be much simpler, however, to suppose that Paul wrote "the twelve" according to the tradition he received and that a somewhat pedantic scribe altered it to "the eleven".

The second point is the relation between the three groups, 1. the twelve, 2. the apostles, and 3. the five hundred.

Does the last named include either or both of the first two groups? A decision on this is not easy, however, one could think that the five hundred may have included some of the apostles but probably excluded the twelve. The Pauline usage seems to favour the meaning "rank and file" Christian for *ἀδελφός*, while such a verse as Ro 16.7 suggests that there may not have been a sharp distinction between them and the apostles in the widest sense of that term.



The question usually put by the commentators is, why did the evangelists not include the appearances of 1 Cor 15?

The best approach to this question is that of form-criticism. The kerygma in 1 Cor 15 served the purpose of the Pauline mission. Then, what is the Sitz in Leben of the Gospel narratives of the appearances?

1. One obvious thing concerning the later generation might be that it was separated from the resurrection by a time interval in which criticism had developed, so that it was now necessary to tell the story in such a way as to meet known objections. For instance, in the Gospels the empty tomb stories play a major part. But, at the same time it was apparently disputed by opponents, and what functioned at first as a support of the message came to need support in its turn. Perhaps, that is most clearly the case in Matthew, where 28.11-15 bears the marks of fairly protracted controversy. Jewish critics tried to rob the empty tomb of probative force by alleging that the disciples had stolen the body. To this the Christians replied that such a story had obviously been put in circulation by the temple authorities in an effort to conceal the facts. In Luke 24, there is indication that the story of the empty tomb was discredited in some circles as resting only on the evidence of women. The objection is met by saying that those who first heard their story were just as sceptical and only accepted it when it was corroborated (vv. 22-24). In John's Gospel, Peter and the beloved disciple visit the tomb and confirm that it is empty and that the body has rather removed itself than been removed.

As regards the appearances themselves, they were open to the criticism that nothing more had been seen than a ghost, a disembodied spirit such as might appear in the case of other dead persons. Luke definitely meets this objection by

presenting the risen Lord as one who can be handled, who has flesh and bones, and moreover can eat a meal. In John, Thomas demands just such evidence as the unbeliever demanded and is offered it, though in the presence of the Lord he refuses it and worships instead. That Jesus could enter through a closed door was evidence that he belonged to another world than this: that he could be handled showed that he was no mere apparition. In other words, the church's faith in the resurrection was amply supported by the evidence.

Thus, while the kerygma of 1 Cor 15 was shaped in a missionary church the Gospel stories served rather the needs of a church that had to defend against criticism what had come down to her from the past.

2. The resurrection was of course something much more than a piece of doctrine to be defended. By the time the Gospels were written, it had been assimilated into the life and worship of the church and was approached through these. As Paul's emphasis on dying and rising again "with" Christ shows, it was not a mere past event, but a present power to be entered into in baptism. Also, the breaking of the bread, while it continued the last meal of Jesus with the disciples, could not be celebrated without the sense that he who had once died was alive for evermore and, while he was to come again, was also present in the midst. Hence the Gospel stories of the appearances are influenced by the cult and also by the church's missionary vocation.

Perhaps, the Emmaus story is evidence for the first of these influences. The risen Lord is known in the act of blessing and breaking bread, he is recognized as he re-creates the situation of the Lord's Supper. The same point is stressed also in the report of the two disciples concerned: "He was known of them in the breaking of the bread." (Lk 24.35). The story reflects the experience of the



Christian community, which has met with the risen Lord again and again in the exposition of Scripture, and at his table. The story in John 21.1-13 may be a Galilean parallel to the Jerusalem story in Luke 24.

All the three Gospels that have come down to us completely connect the missionary task of the church with the appearances. In Matthew and Luke the appearance in question is the final one, while in John the appointment of the apostles as the Lord's delegates and their equipment with the spirit comes at the beginning.

So far, one has been concerned only with the form of the Gospel narratives. It may be that they preserve good traditions that have come to be presented in this particular way: it may be that in some cases they are actually the creation of the church.

But it may still be asked why the church of a later period did not take up and adapt for her purpose what was in the first Kerygma. Certain considerations may be offered in this connection.

The appearance to James would be of outstanding value to the Jerusalem church and to any missionaries among Jews of the dispersion. For James was known as the head of the Jerusalem church and respected for his fidelity to the Torah. In addition, he had viewed Jesus during his lifetime with the suspicion not unnatural to a kinsman. His acceptance of the risen Lord was, therefore, against his previous inclination and not to be accounted for by any predisposition to believe. It is not surprising to find that the appearance to James figures in the Gospel according to the Hebrews,<sup>9</sup> with legendary accretions, for "it was the gospel

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<sup>9</sup> cf. New Testament Apocrypha, ed., R.McL. Wilson, London, 1963, p. 165: "And when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the servant of the priest, he went to James and appeared to him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he should see him risen from among them that sleep."

belonging to the Jewish Christians and employed by them."<sup>10</sup> Presumably, the Gentile Church was less favourable to James. The appearance to him belonged to a pattern of tradition it was not disposed to preserve.

J. Hering maintains <sup>11</sup> that Luke's Gospel and Acts arose in a circle that was interested in minimizing the role of James in favour of the twelve and of Peter in particular. That may well be the case, but one is left wondering why the appearance to Peter has not then been preserved. It is alluded to, to be sure, in Luke 24.34. John seems to know of some claim to primacy for Peter in connection with the resurrection, though it is associated with the empty tomb. He denies that Peter was first at the tomb or that he was the first to believe that Jesus had risen. Credit for both goes to the beloved disciple. Such precedence as Peter has consists in a more detailed knowledge of the state of things inside the tomb. One is left asking why more is not said.

What of the appearance to the more than five hundred? Were these all dead when the Gospels were written? Did none of the evangelists have any contact with even one of their number? If one supposes, as one could, that this incident is to be located in Galilee, it is possible to imagine why it was not taken up into the main stream of the tradition. But such questions cannot be answered with any certainty.

One conclusion of some importance seems to result from all that has been said so far.

It is namely that one is driven to assume, for this part of the tradition at

<sup>10</sup> M.S. Enslin, "Gospel according to the Hebrews", in: The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, New York, 1962, Vol. 2, p. 571.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hering, La première épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, Paris, 1949, ET: The first epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, London, 1962.



least, some serious breach of continuity. Paul handed on to his churches what he had received from these who were in the faith before him. This tradition, however, did not come to the men who wrote the Gospels, either by Paul or by any other intermediary. The evangelists, that is to say, did not at this point reduce to writing a tradition that had been handed down to them from apostles. That is, "the narratives in the Gospel were not produced as expansion, by way of commentary or midrash, of the list of appearances in the primitive tradition: while it is quite certain that the list of successive appearances on the other hand as one has it in 1 Cor 15, and as it is implied in Lk 24.33-34, and on the other hand the different types of narrative in the Gospels, are independent of one another, and represent alternative methods of supplementing the simple statements of the Kerygma in its baldest form, that Christ rose from the dead and that the apostles were witnesses to the fact, since he appeared to them after his passion."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> C.H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 29.

U. Wilckens sees the discrepancy between the appearance stories in 1 Cor 15 and in the Gospel narratives as an example of the development of early Christianity as a whole, which followed two distinct courses, the first being a tradition in story form of the words and acts of Jesus handed down in the primitive community but unknown to the missionary churches, and the other a tradition of preaching, exhortation and liturgy about the cosmic Christ going back to the Hellenists, the two traditions being brought together for the first time by the evangelists. (cf. U. Wilckens, "The tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, pp. 55ff.) The evangelists, however, for their part, have placed such remarkably little value on these important and historically almost irrefragable data that even the most important, such as the appearances before Peter, James and five hundred, have not been thought worthy of any individual narration at all.

E. Käsemann sees no other hypothesis open to the historian "than that more detailed narratives which were available were suppressed on dogmatic grounds, because they had ceased to correspond to the views of the second and third generation of Christians." ("Zum Thema der Nichtobjektivierbarkeit" in: Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, 1, Göttingen, 1960. ET: Essays on New Testament Themes, London, 1964. p. 49)

H. Grass holds that some appearances disappeared from the tradition (those to the brethren and to all the apostles) because it came to be realized that they belonged not to the immediate post-resurrection period, but to a later time. (cf. H. Grass, op. cit., pp. 109ff.)

## 5.2 Tradition and redaction history and the significance of the Easter narratives in Matthew

On the basis of form-critical study one might say that Matthew's Easter account is less rudimentary, and more highly articulated than Mark's. Matthew's kerygmatic or theological interest is already reflected in the way he fills out his chronology by including in his passion narrative an old apologetic fragment proclaiming the emptying of the graves of the saints at the moment of the death of Jesus (Mt 27.52f.) Matthew's account is not a simple objective report, but contains theological reflection.<sup>13</sup> This theological reflection may, perhaps, be illuminated more extensively by tradition and redaction history than by form-criticism.

### A. Context (Mt 27.56ff.)

After Jesus' crucifixion three women are again named: "among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee." (27.56). The names of the women are not quite the same as those in Mark (Mk 16.1). Instead of Salome, in Matthew the mother of the sons of Zebedee is mentioned. The laying of the body in the tomb is then watched by Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, as in Mark.

Mt 27.62-66 is an expansion compared with Mark. The day after the day of preparation (i.e. on the Sabbath) the chief priests and the pharisees go to Pilate, and point out that Jesus had prophesied that he would rise from the dead after

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<sup>13</sup> See: G. Bornkamm, "Der Auferstandene und der Irdische, Mt 28.16-20", in: Zeit und Geschichte, Tübingen, 1964, p. 171: "Dennoch sieht man sofort, dass der Text an Details eines einzelnen Vorganges kaum noch interessiert ist und der geschichtliche Rahmen nur eben noch angedeutet, um nicht zu sagen, völlig gesprengt ist."

Similarly, M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1963, p. 285.



three days. They ask Pilate to have the tomb guarded, lest the disciples should come and steal the body, afterwards saying that Jesus had risen from the dead. The deception would be worse than the first. Pilate accordingly gives the chief priests and the Pharisees a guard. They all go to the tomb, secure it and seal the stone. All this takes place on the Sabbath.

#### B. Account of the empty tomb (Mt 28.1-15)

v.1: In Mt 28.1-3, Matthew takes up the Markan thread, though with characteristic variations. Two women go to the tomb (Mary Magdalene and the other Mary). Their intention is not to anoint the body (as in Mark); they simply want to see the tomb. There is accordingly no mention of their having brought spices, and of course, since they are not planning to enter the tomb, they do not wonder on the way who will roll away the stone for them. It is to be observed that here is a reflective and critical element. In Palestine, it would be impossible to undertake the anointing of a body on the third day, for the process of decay would have already begun. Consequently Matthew strikes out this feature in this version.

vv.2-3: While the women are at the tomb there is an earthquake. An angel of the Lord descends from heaven, rolls away the stone and sits upon it. One knows (though only from the very much later Gospel of Peter) there were traditions which spoke of a heavenly intervention at the tomb. One may ask whether Matthew knew such traditions and wove them into these verses. But the reverse process is undoubtedly possible as well - that the author of the Gospel of Peter was familiar with Matthew's Gospel, among other things. In this case the author's intention would be to accentuate the miraculous event and work of the God of Israel, viz. the God of Jesus, adopting Old Testament language.

v.4: The guards are terrified and fall down as if dead. The angel turns to the women with words similar to those in Mark.

vv.5-8: Although there is no reference to the fact that the women went into the tomb, one is no doubt intended to suppose that they at least looked in. The story goes on to say that the women ran quickly away from the tomb "with fear and great joy" to tell the disciples.

vv.9-10: There is a meeting between the women and Jesus (28.9-10). He greets them. They fall before him and take hold of his feet as a sign of reverence. Jesus speaks to them, but only repeats what the angel had already told them and bids them do it (28.8): "tell my brethren to go to Galilee and there they will see me" (28.10).

vv.11-15: Following on this, the story of the guard is brought to an end (28.11-15). The men go into the city and tell the chief priests everything that has happened - although they had fallen down as if dead. The chief priests consult with the elders as to what is to be done. They bribe the guard, who are now to tell Pilate that they had fallen asleep while on duty and that disciples had meanwhile come and stolen the body. Here, if it has not already done so, the story as an account of a real event breaks down. How can anyone say what happened while he was asleep? Matthew, however, himself gives the reason why he introduces the story of the guard, which appears in none of the other Gospels. The theft of the body "has been spread among the Jews to this day" (28.15). In other words, this is a defence. Down to the time of the evangelists the fabrication that the body had been stolen was the form taken by Jewish polemic against the Christian resurrection claim. One can find traces of the Jewish assertion in John's



Gospel as well.<sup>14</sup>

Whatever attitude one may adopt as regards the empty tomb, one thing is certain; it is an indispensable part of Matthew's view of the resurrection. His defence against the Jews makes this plain.

Did Matthew himself invent the story of the guard at the tomb, which he introduces into his Markan copy at two places (27.62-66 and 28.4) and which he later goes on to finish (28.11-15)? Or was he taking over a tradition? The answer to this question is by no means clear. In view of the inner contradictions, however, it is evident that the story cannot in any case have actually taken place as it stands. And all one could say is that Matthew's text of the empty tomb, and of the subterfuge of the Jewish elders in enticing the guard to spread the rumour that the disciples had stolen Jesus' body, shows a development of the tradition to meet the needs of Christian apologetic.<sup>15</sup>

One must also notice that in Matthew's account, told in Old Testament language (Mt 28.2-4), "the empty tomb becomes the truly wonderful work through which the God of Israel and the God of Jesus has completed his great divine plan; neither the resistance of the Jewish leaders to Jesus nor the connivance of Rome's representative is able to hold back God's mighty work. God has brought Jesus

<sup>14</sup> It is noticeable that the taking away of the body is mentioned three times in John (20.15, 20.2, 20.13). One is bound to ask whether this repetition is a chance one or whether there is a connection with the apologetic motif in Matthew. The defence would then, it is true, be in different terms from those of the story of the guard at the tomb. John's emphasis on the fact that the grave clothes were folded in orderly fashion (20.5,6) and that the napkin was rolled up (20.7) may belong to this motif. For if the body had been stolen this would hardly have been the case. A defence of the empty tomb therefore seems to lie behind the story - a defence which was necessary because of the claim that the body of Jesus had been stolen.

<sup>15</sup> cf. v. Campenhausen, Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab, Heidelberg, 1958, pp. 28ff., also, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 171.

back from the grave without the aid of man and despite the world".<sup>16</sup>

C. The commissioning of the disciples (Mt 28.16-20)<sup>17</sup>

The eleven disciples go into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had commanded them to go (although Jesus had not in fact told them to go to a mountain at all, but into Galilee in general. cf. 28.7, 10). There they see him and fall before him, although one is told that some of them doubted. The so-called missionary charge follows. It begins with Jesus' proclaiming "the power that has been given to him." The eleven are now to make disciples of all nations, by baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost and by teaching them to keep all Jesus' commands. The charge closes with a word of promise: "Lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age."

<sup>16</sup> H. Anderson, "The Easter witness of the Evangelists", in: The New Testament in historical and contemporary perspective, ed., H. Anderson and W. Barclay, Oxford, 1965, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> As regards form-critical study of the passages, J. Jeremias, following O. Michel, suggests that in verses 18 - 20 we have a good example of a "triple-action coronation text", i.e. (1) the assumption of all authority by the risen one in verse 18, (2) the command to proclaim his authority among all nations in verses 19-20a, (3) the word of power in verse 20b. In 1 Tm 3.16, Php 2.9-11 and He 1.5-14, one also has coronation texts after the fashion of the ancient Egyptian coronation ritual. (Jesu Verheissung für die Völker, Stuttgart, 1956, ET: Promise to the Nations, London, 1958, pp. 38ff.)

K.H. Rengstorff ("Old and New Testament Traces of a Formula of the Judaean Royal Ritual", NovTest, 5, 1962, pp. 229ff.) classifies the passage in the category of "the ancient oriental Royal Ritual". According to Rengstorff's understanding of the text, there are a number of christological passages in the New Testament which suggest the influence of the ancient Royal Ritual: (1) the baptism of Jesus and the divine voice that was heard on that occasion (Mk 1.9ff.) (2) the tradition about the transfiguration of Jesus on a mountain (Mk 9.22ff.) (3) Mt 28.16ff., (4) Php 2.5ff. (5) 1 Tm 3.16 (6) He 1.5ff. cf. K.-H. Bernhardt, "Das Problem der alt-orientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psalmenexegese dargestellt und gewürdigt", Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, vol. VIII, 1961, pp. 307-324.



There are some difficulties in analysing the passages, because there is no direct parallel to them by means of which editorial alterations by Matthew might be noticed. An editorial supplement by the evangelist must perhaps be reckoned with by virtue of its position as the conclusion of the Gospel.<sup>18</sup> Besides, the passages show a series of Matthean thoughts<sup>19</sup> and linguistic particularities.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the evangelist must have had before him a tradition concerning the appearing of Jesus to the disciples. How much in this section stems from tradition and what must be due to the editorial work of Matthew?

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<sup>18</sup> cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 173, also, G. Schille, "Bemerkung zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums II. Das Evangelium des Matthäus als Katechismus", NTStud., 4, 1957/58, p. 113.

<sup>19</sup> Some scholars rightly have pointed to Mt 28.18-20 as the key passage of this Gospel. e.g. O. Cullmann, Königsherrschaft Christi und Kirche im Neuen Testament, Zürich, 1950, p. 10, E. Lohmeyer, Galiläa und Jerusalem, Göttingen, 1956, O. Michel, "Der Abschluss des Matthäusevangeliums", EvangTheol., 10, 1950/51, p. 21: "Nur unter dieser theologischen Voraussetzung von Matth. 28.16-20 ist das ganze Evangelium geschrieben worden. Ja, der Abschluss kehrt in gewisser Weise zum Anfang zurück und lehrt das ganze Evangelium, die Geschichte Jesu, 'von hinten her' verstehen. Matth 28.18-20 ist der Schlüssel zum Verständnis des ganzen Buches."

E.P. Blair, Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew, New York, 1960, p. 45: "Here many of the emphases of the book are caught up: (1) the absoluteness and all-embracing character of Jesus' authority ('all authority in heaven and on earth') (2) its derivative character ('has been given to me') (3) the command to evangelize all nations ('make disciples of all nations') (4) the definition of the nation of discipleship (Baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and the observance of all that Jesus has commanded) (5) the assurance of Jesus' presence until the close of the age ('I am with you always, to the close of the age')."

<sup>20</sup> cf. A. Schlatter, Die Kirche des Matthäus, Gütersloh, 1929, p. 23, G.D. Kilpatrick, The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, London, 1950, G. Barth "Das Gesetzesverständnis des Evangelisten Matthäus", in: G. Barth, H.J. Held, G. Bornkamm, Ueberlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium, Neukirchen, 1960, pp. 54-154, ET: "Matthew's Understanding of the Law": in: Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, London and New York, 1963, p. 131.

## 1) vv.16-17

(a) Mt 28.16 and 17 report that the eleven disciples went to Galilee to the mountain to which Jesus had appointed them and where he appeared to them. Some tradition about this must have existed before Matthew, but that it was the lost conclusion of Mark and that he modifies this is improbable.<sup>21</sup>

(b) The theme of the mountain most probably goes back to Matthew.<sup>22</sup>

(c) The report about the appearance of Jesus is very short (v.17: καὶ ἰδόντες), and in this passage the emphasis does not fall on the appearance itself,<sup>23</sup> but

<sup>21</sup> cf. W.C. Allen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Edinburgh, 1951, B.H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, London, 1924, p. 343.

<sup>22</sup> On the significance of the *ὄρος* -motif in Matthew, see: E. Lohmeyer, "Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt", in: In Memoriam E. Lohmeyer, Stuttgart, 1951, p. 24: "It is the mountain which the reporter cannot or will not name: it is likewise in Matthew's Gospel obviously the place of the revelations of Jesus (5.1, 15.29, 17.1, 24.3, 14.23), as it is in the Old Testament the place of the revelation of God."

See also, G. Strecker, Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen, 1962, p. 98, p. 208, esp., p. 98. "Die Parallele zu 28.16 liegt auf der Hand. Auch hier ist mit dem *ὄρος* - Motiv die berufene Gemeinschaft und eine Demonstration des Kyrios verbunden. Charakterisiert so 'Berg' das eschatologische Geschehen, für 'Galiläa' ergibt sich die entgegengesetzte Folgerung; denn wäre Galiläa in sich schon ein eschatologischer Topos, so würde die besondere Verwendung des Bergmotivs nicht mehr notwendig sein. Daher gilt auch die Umkehrung: 'Berg' als topologischer Begriff kennzeichnet 'Galiläa' als geographische Größe." Also, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 171: " 'Der Berg' ist nicht ein geographisch bestimmbarer Ort, sondern typische Offenbarungsstätte wie häufig auch sonst im Matthäusevangelium (vgl. 5.1, 15.29, 17.1), auch wenn man keineswegs sofort an ein Gegenbild zum Sinai denken muss."

<sup>23</sup> As regards form-critical study on this text, see: M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1963, p. 91. Dibelius defines Epiphanygeschichte as: "Die Epiphany im Wunder ist Selbstzweck".

See also, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., pp. 171f.: "Die Erscheinung des Auferstandenen wird selbst überhaupt nicht erzählt, sondern ist in der Wendung καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύρηναι, οἱ δὲ ἐβόων (28.17) vorausgesetzt. Schon darum ist die ganze Szene nicht eigentlich als Erscheinungsgeschichte zu bezeichnen. Weder findet sich im Text ein Wort über die Art und Umstände der Erscheinung und das Verschwinden des Auferstandenen noch über Erschrecken und Freude der Jünger oder über das Wiedererkennen des Herrn." Against this, E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1962, pp. 26f., also K. Stendahl, Peake's Commentary, London, 1962, p. 798.



rather on the words of Jesus that follow.<sup>24</sup> This makes all the more striking the fact that some doubted (28.17).

Mark 16.14 and Luke 24.41 also report the doubt of the disciples but, in their case, it has quite a different meaning. In Mk 16.14, the disciples do not believe the message of those who saw the risen one. The unbelief is abolished by the doubters now seeing the risen one for themselves.

In Lk 24.41, some do not believe when the risen one appears, but their unbelief is removed by the explanation. "And while they still disbelieved for joy and wondered", they do not believe their own eyes. Their unbelief is overcome by the request of Jesus for food, whereby proof is provided that they are not looking at a "spirit" (24.39). In Luke, too, on both occasions, the doubt is overcome by seeing the risen one; there, the only purpose of the doubt is to strengthen the proof of the resurrection mediated by sight and touch.

Hence, the naming of doubt in Matthew in the passage must also serve the purpose of the overcoming of this doubt through what is reported in the following verses.<sup>25</sup> These verses, however, do not provide any clearer seeing or observing, but the word of Jesus. The meaning, therefore, can only be, that this doubt is overcome by the word of Jesus.

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<sup>24</sup> cf. P. Stuhlmacher, Das paulinische Evangelium, Göttingen, 1962, p. 255: "Aufgegriffen worden freilich in der reflektierten Form, dass die österliche Proklamation ausdrücklich an die Lehre des Irdischen gebunden wird. Es ist das uns schon vertraute Interesse der Identifikation kerygmatischer Aussagen durch die Bindung an die Lehre Jesu, welche unseren Text beherrscht und Matthäus jenes programmatische *παῖδεύσατε καὶ* in die Feder drängt." See also H. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 44f.

<sup>25</sup> E. Klostermann (Das Matthäusevangelium, Tübingen, 1927) thinks that *ἐξίστασαν* refers to an historical recollection of Matthew. Against this: G. Barth (op. cit. p. 132) holds that the meaning of the doubt does not occur in an historical but in a theological interest (cf. Mk 16.4, Lk 24.41, Jn 20.24ff.).

O. Michel<sup>26</sup> sees here the problem of the later Church, which seeks a new certainty about the risen one beyond the Easter appearance, since the appearance belongs to tradition and an event of the past.<sup>27</sup> O. Michel compares Jn 20.29 with this passage, where the same question is referred to. In John, the hearer is directed to the understanding of faith itself, which can do without the appearance. In Matthew, the message of the risen one and obedience to the message is the way to the overcoming of doubt.

In this sense, the mention of doubt in this passage belongs to a later time, and, thus, one might say, that this does not belong to the tradition.<sup>28</sup> Since it can only be explained on the basis of the whole of Mt 28.16-20, it is probably due to the evangelist.

## 2) vv.18-20

The decisive weight of the pericope lies on the saying of Jesus in vv.18-20.

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<sup>26</sup> O. Michel op. cit., pp. 17ff.

<sup>27</sup> H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, New York, 1964, p. 224: "The 'doubt' mentioned by Matthew in verse 17 seems to reflect the later questionings of the Church about a new Easter certainty, and here it is vanquished, not, as in Luke, by a clearer sight of the physical presence of the risen Jesus, but by the following words of the risen and exalted Christ, announcing his sovereign heavenly Lordship." Also, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 172: "Besondere Beachtung verdient um so mehr das Auftauchen des Zweifelsmotivs in 28.17, das aus der Problematik der späteren Gemeinde verstanden werden will."

<sup>28</sup> cf. G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 208: "In v.17 schiesst <sup>1</sup>οἱ δὲ ἐδίδασκον hart an. Die Stellung könnte an nachmatthäische Interpolation denken lassen. Jedoch können sprachliche Argumente dies nicht wirklich begründen. Da δεικνύειν auch 14.31 (sonst jedoch nicht im N.T.) begegnet und an unserer Stelle neben dem oft für Matthäus bezeugten προσκυρεῖν steht, ist redaktioneller Ursprung wahrscheinlich. Das bedeutet, dass vv.16-17 ausschliesslich als matthäische Bildung anzusehen sind." P. Stuhlmacher, op. cit., pp. 254f.: "V.17 widerspricht also der Zusammengehörigkeit von Erscheinung und Sendung in alten Texten nicht, signalisiert aber, dass diese alte Identität für die Kirche später interpretationsbedürftig war. In dem Matthäustext ist das Hauptanliegen jener alten Identität, dass nämlich die Botschaft selbst zum Wort des Auferstandenen wird, bejahend aufgegriffen worden."



(a) In this passage it must be noticed first of all that the missionary view of the early Hellenistic Jewish Christians<sup>29</sup> is conveyed by a definite christological concept.<sup>30</sup> The command by the Lord<sup>31</sup> to undertake mission among the Gentiles may be old, but it seems that the item of tradition in 28.18-20 does not in its present form belong to the earliest tradition. For, apart from the triadic formula of the command to baptize and the editorial interventions, the text, in view of the nature of its construction and the Christological outlook

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<sup>29</sup> It has been proposed that Matthew, with the help of the tradition taken up by him, transformed Mark from a Jewish Christian standpoint, in order to defend Christianity and to make it acceptable to Jewish Christian readers and to prove Jesus as the Jewish Messiah. The author is said to be a Jewish Christian, who also had at his disposal rabbinic knowledge (so in various ways, Ropes, Schmid, Schlatter, von Dobschütz, Michaelis, Feine-Behm, Meinertz, Heard, McNeil-Williams, Wikenhauser, Kilpatrick, Stendahl, Blair, Gärtner, Wolf, Kümmel). Other scholars recently have generally denied the hypothesis that Matthew exhibits a Jewish-Christian character and is intended for Jewish Christians, and have sought to demonstrate, that the author of Matthew was not a born Jew and did not write for Jewish Christians. Rather, the author is thought to be a Gentile, who addressed himself to the Gentile-Christian church, which in his time was in the majority (Clark, Nepper-Christensen, Hebert, Trilling, Strecker). Bornkamm, also, sees the author as a Hellenistic Jewish Christian, who knows Hellenistic Christianity and presupposes it. His attitude towards it is by no means negative, as is clear from his acceptance of the gospel of Mark and his considerably more frequent use of the christological title Kyrios. Matthew and Paul presuppose a common faith in the Kyrios and the Hellenistic Christian understanding of the Gentiles and the mission to a far greater degree than is usually supposed. Both are also engaged, in different ways, in a struggle against Hellenistic antinomianism and enthusiasm. They are, however, differentiated strongly in their understanding of the law and of righteousness. (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., pp. 180ff.)

<sup>30</sup> P. Stuhlmacher, op. cit., p. 255: "Christologisch gehört unser Text also in die Sphäre des hellenistischen Christentums und der sich dort vollziehenden Verflechtung von Christos - und Kyrios - Vorstellungen." Similarly, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., pp. 171ff.

<sup>31</sup> Against this, F. Spitta holds that the risen Lord's missionary command has been constructed from an account of an occasion on which the disciples were sent out during the earthly ministry. (Jesus und die Heidenmission, Giessen, 1909, pp. 61ff.)

on which it is based, cannot unreasonably be regarded as being part of a later layer of the tradition: on the one hand, one has here a tripartite text with the assertion of authority in v.18, the missionary command in vv.19, 20a, and the promise of help in v.20b - three parts that must originally have been independent of each other,<sup>32</sup> and, on the other hand, the theme of exaltation,<sup>33</sup> which represents a recasting of ancient eschatological expectation, dominates the whole pericope.

O. Michel has made it clear that, in this text, composition and Christology react on each other, as there is a certain enthronement pattern in the background of the text.<sup>34</sup>

(b) In this connection, perhaps one must take account of a parallel text, Mk 16.15-18. For, though this item of tradition from the later Marcan addition

<sup>32</sup> O. Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 20: "Es ist anzunehmen, dass die drei Glieder dieser Komposition ursprünglich selbständig waren, zumal bestimmte Parallelen aufgewiesen werden können, die auf sich allein stehen (v.18 vgl. Mt 11.27 und Jn 3.35, v.19 vgl. Mk 16.15, v.20b vgl. Mt 18.20). Diese Zusammenstellung von Jesuslogien ist also erst nachträglich entstanden, wie auch andere Kompositionen der Evangelien (vgl. z.B. Mt 11.25-30 oder Mk 16.15-18)." cf. G. Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 123f.; Also G. Bornkamm, *op. cit.*, p. 173: "Sicher sind die drei Worte nicht frei von Matthäus formuliert, sondern waren ihm, wie schon die Parallelen zu V.18b (vgl. 11.27, Joh 3.35) und V.20 (vgl. 18.20) und der formelhafte Charakter des Taufbefehls in V.19 zeigen, durch die Tradition vorgegeben. Nicht so sicher ist, ob erst Matthäus die drei Logien zu einem Ganzen zusammengefügt hat oder schon die Tradition vor ihm. Wahrscheinlicher ist die erste Annahme, denn vergleichbare Parallelen zu Mt 28.18-20 im ganzen fehlen. Uebrigens gehört die Zusammenfügung verschiedener Sprüche und ihre Ausgestaltung zu einer einheitlichen Spruchgruppe zu der gerade von diesem Evangelisten mit Meisterschaft geübten Kompositionstechnik."

Against this: G. Strecker holds that the three motifs (1. von der Macht des Erhöhten (v.18b), 2. von seinem Taufbefehl (v.19b), 3. von seiner Verheissung (v.20b) ) never existed as separate logia, but came into existence as a unit in the pre-Matthean tradition. (G. Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

<sup>33</sup> The concept of the exaltation grew out of messianology, and it shows a close connection with the Hellenistic Jewish Christian view of Jesus as Kyrios. cf. F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, Göttingen, 1963, ET: *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, London, 1969, pp. 103ff., pp. 129ff.

<sup>34</sup> O. Michel, *op. cit.*, pp. 20ff., J. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 38ff.



may be somewhat assimilated to Marcan ways of expression as regards details, it seems, on the whole, an independent and comparatively ancient witness.<sup>35</sup> In Mark 16.15 the commission is given to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation", and this is supplemented in v.16 by the reference to belief as a condition of salvation, and also the reference to baptism. Then in vv.17f, there follows the promise of "signs" performed in Jesus' name, which accompany the preaching. The missionary command itself (vv.15f.) is therefore connected with the idea of help - a connection which one may note also in Mt 28.19, 20a and 20b, although the idea is expressed differently there.

(c) However, one must perhaps focus one's attention on the sharply marked Christology in Mt 28.18ff., for it is the decisive element which distinguishes Mt 28.18ff. from Mk 16.15ff. The concept of Jesus' exaltation, which becomes settled in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity is expressed here with the help of the enthronement pattern.<sup>36</sup> The ceremonial rite of ascending the throne is taken over in various parts of early Christian tradition and is expressed most completely

<sup>35</sup> cf. O. Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Michel tends to see in Mark 16.15-18 merely an imitation of Matthew 28.18-20, as is frequently done in commentaries. F. Hahn holds that one can detect an older stage of the tradition in Mk 16.15-18. (cf. *Der Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen, 1963, ET: *The Mission in early Christianity*, London, 1965, p. 64.)

<sup>36</sup> cf. G. Bornkamm, *op. cit.*, p. 173: "M. Dibelius (*Formgeschichte*, pp. 282ff.) hat dafür auf die Verbindung von Selbstempfehlung und Predigtruf in hellenistisch-agnostischen Offenbarungsreden verwiesen. Doch umschreibt die Wendung *ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς* (v.18) nicht wie in Mt 11.27 die Qualifikation des Offenbarers, sondern die Inthronisation zum Kyrios über Himmel und Erde, die hier wie oft unmittelbar mit der Auferstehung verbunden, genauer gesagt, mit ihr ineins gesetzt wird."

As regards the *Traditionsgeschichte* of v.18 see: G. Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 209, He holds that *προσελθὼν* (v.18a) is a typical Matthean term, also *ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων* belongs to the editorial work of Matthew p. 209: "Dagegen verbindet v.18b mit der *ἐξουσία* -Aussage die Vorstellung einer in kosmische Dimensionen gesteigerten Herrschaft, wie dies sonst nicht im Redaktionsgut, wohl aber in vor- und aussermatthäischen Traditionen bezeugt ist. .... Auch das singularische *ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* erweckt einen unmatthäischen Eindruck."

in Php 2.9-11. Here, the enthronement, sc. the exaltation, is followed by the proclamation which bestows the name and this is in turn followed, finally, by the acclamation of the powers, which implies the thought of the exercise of sovereignty. However, one cannot connect Mt 28.18ff. one-sidedly with the Philippian pattern. For, as has been noted already, missionary command and promise of help have been joined together before (cf. Mk 16.15ff.), but what must be seen is that neither of these shows any direct connection with the enthronement pattern. The joining of v.18b, and vv.19f. seems to be a somewhat different matter. This word of authority itself (v.18b), as Mt 11.27 shows, is also by nature of its origin not determined by the enthronement rite. Therefore, if one takes into account the close relation between Mt 11.27a and Mt 28.18, it might not be impossible to conjecture that Jesus' commission to the disciples to make his message known now takes the place of the idea of the revelation of the knowledge of God through "the son".

But, what must not be overlooked is that in v.18b the idea of granting the complete authority of Jesus is connected with the lordship over heaven and earth, that is, with the idea of exaltation<sup>37</sup> and this may suggest that the enthronement

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<sup>37</sup> cf. F. Hahn, op. cit., pp. 64f.; Also, Christologische Hoheitstitel, Göttingen, 1963, ET: The Titles of Jesus in Christology, London, 1969, pp. 307ff., pp. 314ff. M. Dibelius refers to "die Verbindung von Selbstempfehlung und Predigtruf in hellenistischen-gnostischen Offenbarungsreden." (Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1963, pp. 282f.) Against this, G. Bornkamm, op. cit., pp. 175f.: "Das Besondere unseres Textes ist nämlich nicht nur die Verbindung von Erscheinung und Sendung, sondern die von Erhöhung und Völkermission. .... Wichtig ist, dass Matthäus dieses vorgegebene Motiv der Völkermission in Kap. 28 dem Erhöhungsgedanken zu- und unterordnet."

Concerning the concept of ἐξουσία, see: ThW II, p. 561, p. 563, cf. W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 9: "Von solcher möglichst weitgefassten und total verstandenen Art muss die ἐξουσία des Kyrios auch hier gedacht werden." Also, see, G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 211.

As regards, ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, see: W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 9, ThW V, p. 514., ThW I, p. 678: "Himmel und Erde sollen, sowohl in ihrer Zusammengehörigkeit als auch in der Ueberordnung des Himmels über die Erde, das



pattern is being followed. It is noted, therefore, that the three basic elements of Mt 28.18ff. are primarily of different origin, yet these elements had already exercised a mutual attraction to a certain extent in the process of the development of the traditions. It is only thus, that the modification of the enthronement pattern may become intelligible. For the words about authority in v.18b are not a direct saying about the act of enthronement, but one of revelation, which declares by implication the exaltation, that has been accomplished. The theme of the proclamation is adopted in vv.19, 20a in the sense, not that the ascension of the throne is now being made known to the powers, but that the risen Lord is sending his earthly messengers to all nations.<sup>38</sup> Finally, v.20b expresses the theme of the

### 37 (contd.)

Verhältnis Gottes als des Herrn und Schöpfers zu seiner Herrschaft und Schöpfung zeichenhaft darstellen." cf. G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 211: "Gleichwohl reicht die Vollmacht des Erhöhten über die des Irdischen hinaus, da sie 'Himmel und Erde' umschliesst und damit den Umfang der allumfassenden Basileia andeutet, mit der der Kyrios am Ende der Tage erscheinen wird."

<sup>38</sup> cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 177: "Nirgends ist an allen diesen genannten Stellen eo ipso das Motiv der Völkermission durch die Jünger mit der Erhöhung Christi verbunden. Und doch zeigt sich, dass sich der Auftrag an Jünger und Apostel für die ganze Welt unmittelbar mit der mythisch, nicht geschichtlich vorgestellten Erhöhung und Epiphanie des Kyrios vor der Welt verbinden konnte und verbunden hat."

As regards πάντα τὰ ἔθνη see: W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 14.: "Als Ergebnis darf man formulieren: Die Wendung πάντα τὰ ἔθνη wird von Mt mit Sicherheit im uneingeschränkt universalen Sinn verwendet in 25.32 und 24.9, mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auch in 24.14. Diese Basis reicht zunächst für 28.19 aus. Auch dort sind alle Völker ohne jede Beschränkung gemeint. Diese Unbeschränktheit ist natürlich von den Objekten der Missionierung, den Menschen und Menschengruppen, nicht von sachlich-theologischen Entschränkungen zu verstehen." Also, p. 34: "Die Kirche des Mt lehrt offenbar einen völlig unbeschränkten Universalismus des christlichen Glaubens. Es gibt weder grundsätzliche noch situations-oder zeitgebundene Schranken. Von der Problematik Juden-Heiden ist im Schlusswort des Buches nichts zu spüren." pp. 114f.: "Für Mt kann es den Gegensatz zwischen einem Isr'el 'nach dem Fleisch' und einem 'nach dem Geist' gar nicht geben, da das Israel 'nach dem Fleisch' als Israel, d.h. als Volk der Verheissung und des Bundes, überhaupt nicht mehr existiert. Dafür übernimmt das wahre Israel in vollem Umfang die Tradition des verworfenen. Zu dieser Tradition gehört die universale Bedeutung für die Völkerwelt. Um es

38 (contd.)

pointiert zu sagen: Seine Kirche weiss sich nicht als 'Kirche aus Juden und Heiden', sondern 'aus allen Völkern'. Es kann nicht bestritten werden, dass diese Anschauung durch den Bruch mit den Juden so klar entfaltet werden konnte, wohl aber, dass hinter ihr das Theologumenon steht. Die Juden mussten schuldig werden, damit das Heil zu den Heiden komme."

See also the following literature: Th. Zahn, Einleitung in das Neue Testament I-II, Leipzig, 1897, p. 732., K.L. Schmidt, ThW II, p. 366, E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, Göttingen, 1962, p. 418, J. Schmid, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Regensburg, 1950, p. 391, K. Staab, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Würzburg, 1951, p. 163, D. Buzy, Évangile selon Saint Matthieu, Paris, 1935, p. 386, D. Bosch, Die Heidenmission in der Zukunftsschau Jesu, Zürich, 1959, p.190, Feine-Behm-Kümmel, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Heidelberg, 1964, p. 68.

G. Strecker (op. cit., pp. 117f.) writes that "Erst nach der Auferstehung gilt der Missionsauftrag 'allen Völkern' (28.19). Zu ihnen mag auch die jüdische Nation zählen..." But on p. 33, G. Strecker writes: "Das Evangelium endet mit der Mahnung, alle Völker zu missionieren (28.19). Die Heidenmission wird zur Zeit des Matthäus schon selbstverständliche Aufgabe der Kirche gewesen sein."

Against this, J. Weiss, Das Matthäus-Evangelium, Göttingen, 1898, p. 508: "Mit dem πορευθέντες sendet er sie aus, wie einst 10.5f., aber nicht mehr zu Israel, das ihn ja verworfen und die Botschaft von seiner Auferstehung als schandliche Lüge verlästert hat (v.15), sondern zu allen Völkern, die sie zu Jüngern machen sollen.... Gemeint können damit nur alle Heidenvölker sein... Der Befehl 10.5f. ist also nicht bloss erweitert.... sondern zurückgenommen..." Similarly, L. Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert, Gütersloh, 1954, p. 184, H.J. Holtzmann, Die Synoptiker, Leipzig, 1901, p. 298, J. Jeremias, Jesu Verheissung für die Völker, Stuttgart, 1956, ET: Jesus' Promise to the Nations, London, 1958, p. 34: "Of the three Synoptists Matthew evinces the strongest inclination to ascribe to Jesus a missionary activity among the Gentiles. He introduces the ministry of Jesus by a quotation which explicitly mentions the Gentiles..." Similarly, H.E. Tödt, Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Ueberlieferung, Gütersloh, 1963, ET: The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, London, 1965, p. 85, J.C. Fenton, "Inclusio and Chiasmus in Matthew" StudEvang 1959, p. 452, J.P. Brown, "The form of 'Q' known to Matthew", NTStud, 8, 1961/62, pp. 27-42, esp., p. 30.

Concerning the concept of Salvation-history in Matthew see:

R. Walker, Die Heilsgeschichte im ersten Evangelium, Göttingen, 1967, p. 112: "Gab es zur Jesuszeit keine Mission unter den Heiden, sondern allein unter dem 'auserwählten Volk', so ist jetzt die Zeit der 'Mission' Israels zu Ende und die Heidenvölker treten an seine Stelle... Dieser schroffe Szenenwechsel der Heilsgeschichte ruht nicht allein auf Vers 28.19. ... Die Berufung der Heiden steht am Ende der Geschichte Jesu mit Israel und so mit gutem Grund in programmatischer Grundsätzlichkeit am Ende des Matthäus-Evangeliums, das diese Geschichte darbietet." And p. 113: "So entsteht eine fühlbare Spannung zu der dem Evangelisten eigenen 'Zeitkonzeption', die erkennen lässt, dass Matthäus den ihm überkommenen und kräftig von ihm redigierten Stoff 28.18ff. mit der 'österlichen' Zeitbestimmung für die Missionierung der Heiden aufgreift, ohne einen Ausgleich mit seiner redaktionellen Sicht der Dinge zu suchen." See also G. Strecker, op. cit., pp. 208ff.



exercise of sovereignty, when it speaks of the Lord's presence and support to the end of the world.

(d) With this pattern Old Testament concepts are taken up. The connection of the passage about revelation and authority in 28.18b, with Dn 7.14 has been long recognized.<sup>39</sup> Some scholars, on the contrary, hold that the primary reference is not to Dn 7.14,<sup>40</sup> for though the enthronement theme is found there, too, it is found just in that unbroken form according to which the bestowal of sovereignty coincides with the service of all the nations and the final exercise of sovereignty. Besides, the concept of exaltation does not hang together with the

<sup>39</sup> cf. E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium Matthäus, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1962, p. 34, O. Michel, op. cit., p. 22, E. Klostermann, Das Matthäusevangelium, Tübingen, 1927, p. 232, G. Barth, "Das Gesetzesverständnis des Evangelisten Matthäus," in: G. Barth, H.J. Held, G. Bornkamm, Ueberlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium, Neukirchen, 1960, pp. 54-154, ET: "Matthew's understanding of the Law", in: Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, London, and New York, 1963, p. 133, W. Trilling, op. cit., pp. 6ff. See also, P. Stuhlmacher, Das paulinische Evangelium, Göttingen, 1968, p. 255.

<sup>40</sup> i.e., F. Hahn, Der Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament, Neukirchen, 1963, ET: The Mission in Early Christianity, London, 1965, p. 55, G. Bornkamm writes (op. cit., p. 174) that "Zu denken wäre etwa an den Begriff des Menschensohnes, da das erste Wort vielleicht in Anlehnung an das Menschensohn-Wort Dan 7.14 formuliert ist.... Doch darf trotz der Anklänge an Dan. 7 nicht der Menschensohntitel ohne weiteres von dort in Mt 28 eingetragen und der sachliche Abstand beider Texte übersehen werden; schon darum nicht, weil dieser Titel den Gedanken an die Parusie implizieren würde. Von ihr ist jedoch in Mt 28 nicht die Rede, sondern von der Herrschaft des Auferstandenen über Himmel und Erde bis zum Weltende." K.H. Rengstorff, op. cit., p. 239, p. 234: "(sc. The Christological Kerygma) has two roots. The first root is that the way of Jesus did not lead him to the throne of David, whose imperial kingship forms the background of Psalm ii, but to the cross. The second one is the Messiah-concept, as it has been expressed by the specifically Jerusalem-Judaean concept of kingship, which we still find in Psalm ii. There is no doubt, that this special concept has influenced the tradition found in Matt xxviii 16ff. to a very high degree. This is proved by the role which the concept plays in shaping this Gospel's picture of Christ. It is to be assumed, however, that it was not St. Matthew, who was the first to make use of this concept for the Kerygma. He probably found it ready at hand and already in connections."

early Christian expectation of the Son of Man's return,<sup>41</sup> but is rather derived from royal messianology, in which particularly Ps 109.1 LXX (=110.1)<sup>42</sup> played a part. As F. Hahn points<sup>43</sup> out, in Ps 109.1 one finds both the Kyrios title that emerges in Php 2.9-11 and the enthronement theme, which occurs repeatedly and which contains as a promise the final lordship over the world powers. This might be taken by Hellenistic Jewish Christianity to mean that the heavenly lordship of Christ, which has already begun, has yet to be followed by the realization of the royal power in the last days.<sup>44</sup> The Old Testament theme of the subjection of the nations is now replaced by the thought of the gospel to the Gentiles in the last days, but it is not now, as in Re 14.6f., through the mouth of an angel from heaven, but through the disciples and gospel witnesses from the time of Jesus' exaltation till the close of the age, *συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*. If one were to seek other Old Testament passages, which might have influenced the form and content of Matt 28.18ff., one would have to point to Ps 72.8ff. and other passages rather than to Dn 7.13f. Thus, the final scene of the Gospel of St. Matthew shows Jesus, the crucified and risen Lord, at his messianic destination. In his last address to his disciples, who now definitively become his apostolic representatives, he presents himself as God's own King Messiah, at the moment at

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41 H.E. Tödt, *op. cit.*, p. 290: "We therefore have to take care not to interpolate the concept of the Son of Man into the passages which neither mention the Son of Man explicitly nor occur in contexts within which Son of Man sayings occur elsewhere ... It is evident that the title of Kyrios is a feature of statements which exhibit quite a different structure from the sayings concerning the Son of Man."

42 Ps 109.1 (LXX): *Ἐἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν δῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.*

43 F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 67ff.

44 cf. F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel*, Göttingen, 1963, ET: *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, London, 1969, pp. 103ff., pp. 129ff., pp. 168ff.



which he takes over power. His words are, as it were, his speech from the throne, on the occasion of his accession to the throne. The central idea of this passage could be taken also from Ps 2, particularly v.8. The scene, which closes the Gospel of St. Matthew, might be interpreted as the fulfilment of Ps 2 which is understood as messianic-eschatological prophecy. In view of Ps 2, this passage seems to deal with the disciples' and apostles' universal proclamation of the heavenly enthronement of Jesus and of his assumption of power from the hands of God in order to fulfil His will. As messengers of this King, the apostles are to issue the call to faith and to invite all nations to come and be baptised.

(e) So much may be said about the item of tradition that was adopted by Matthew. To understand the details of vv. 19, 20a,<sup>45</sup> however, one must take editorial intervention into account, or at least the influence of later views. This might be clear, as regards the triadic baptismal formula,<sup>46</sup> for this may well

<sup>45</sup> As regards the Traditionsgeschichte of the passage, see: G. Strecker, op. cit. p. 209: "Anders v.19a: hier erscheinen wieder ausschliesslich die Eigenheiten des matthäischen Vokabulars, so dass die Verfasserschaft des Redaktors wahrscheinlich wird."

cf.	πορεύεσθαι	: 9.13, 10.7, 18.12
	οὖν	: 5.48, 6.8f., 31, 34, 7.12
	μαρτυρεῖν	: 13, 52, 27, 57.

<sup>46</sup> W. Trilling holds (op. cit., p. 20) that the command to baptize in Mt 28.19 is not to be regarded as an interpolation. For although baptism as an institution appears here without warning and some New Testament writings do not mention it at all, the practice is taken for granted. Concerning the Traditionsgeschichte of the passage, see: G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 209: "Die Taufformel in v.19b ist demgegenüber nicht als matthäisch nachzuweisen, sie klingt im Evangelium sonst nicht an; es ist auch undenkbar, dass sie der Redaktor erstmals in die Praxis seiner Gemeinde einführte. Für unmatthäische Herkunft spricht ferner die dem Evangelisten auch an anderer Stelle vorgegebene ὄνομα - Konstruktion ... Da wegen der ausgezeichneten handschriftlichen Bezeugung eine nachmatthäische Interpolation ausgeschlossen erscheint, stammt v.19b aus einer vormatthäischen, dem Inhalt nach liturgischen (Tauf-) Tradition."

have been used in the second half of the first century.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting to observe that the term *πορευόντες* occurs both in Mk 16.15 and Mt 28.19 as a

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47 We know that the familiar text contains the threefold formula, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and of the Holy Spirit. In his pre-Nicene writings, however, Eusebius (about 260/65 + 339?) renders this passage, "Make disciples of all Gentiles in my name". Out of this variation, Lohmeyer constructs a whole historical and theological edifice and links it with the idea, already developed in his study *Galiläa und Jerusalem* and in his commentary on Mark, that primitive Christianity had a twofold origin in Galilee and Jerusalem. This thesis recurs here again in an altered form. He thinks that two different movements in primitive Christianity are embodied in these variant texts just quoted. The one, using the Eusebian form of the text, did not regard the sacrament of baptism, originating from John, but the imitation of Jesus' discipleship, as the decisive criterion of the eschatological fellowship. The other movement, with the current threefold form of the text, regarded baptism as a necessary condition of salvation and had traced back to Jesus' example the form of baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The practice of baptism in the name of Jesus alone, combined with the bestowal of the Spirit, as attested in Acts, does not run counter to this, because the essential and historical conditions in the command to baptize in the gospel of Matthew are different from those in Acts. For the picture of baptism in Acts is derived from the Jerusalem tradition, but the formula in Matthew's Gospel from primitive Galilean Christianity. Lohmeyer's thesis, however, stands or falls with the strength of the evidence ~~for~~ the form of the Eusebian text.

F.C. Conybeare ("The Eusebian Form of the Text Mt 28.19", *ZeitNTWiss*, 1901, pp. 275ff.) proved that Eusebius quotes the missionary charge without the threefold formula only in his pre-Nicene writings. The use of the threefold formula in the post-Nicene writings of Eusebius could also be derived from the influence of the dogmatic decisions of the Council of Nicaea. Nevertheless, the evidence for Lohmeyer's view is still not substantiated by the fact that Eusebius quoted merely the abbreviated form. Trilling (*op. cit.*, pp. 20, f.n. 96) mentions Conybeare's work and demonstrates, that the shortened form in Eusebius by no means proves that he did not know the threefold formula, because, in all the passages in which he employs the short form, the detailed form is not required by the context. (cf. B.H. Cuneo, *The Lord's command to baptize*, 1923, quoted by Trilling, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 96). If this is correct, then it puts an end to Lohmeyer's idea of tracing back the textual variants to two different movements in primitive Christianity. Similarly, his theory that Matthew's missionary command entrusts the mission to the Gentiles until the end of the world only to the primitive Christianity of Galilee is also untenable.



kind of technical term for missionary enterprise. However, the fact that Matthew adds *μαθητεύσατε*<sup>48</sup> would lead one to ask whether this *μαθητεύσατε* is not his own editorial addition. There is more evidence of Matthean thought, or perhaps of the view of his church, which was rather more strictly tied to the law and Jesus' interpretation of it, in v.20a, "teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you."<sup>49</sup> Here, the disciples are commanded to teach people to observe everything

<sup>48</sup> Concerning the term, *μαθητεύειν*, G. Bornkamm (*op. cit.*, p. 185) writes that "Hier etwa wird man geschichtlich auch das Sendungswort Mt 28.19 ansetzen und schon den spezifisch matthäischen ekklesiologischen Terminus *μαθητεύειν* als energisches Korrektiv eines in hellenistischer Umwelt vertretenen, mit Kyriosglauben, Charismatiker- und Prophetentum und Heidenmission verbundenen *ἐκκλησία* -Verständnisses begreifen müssen." Also W. Trilling, *op. cit.*, p. 18: "Es (sc. *μαθητεύειν*) geht nicht schlechthin um den 'Christen' in der 'Kirche'. Die Weisung ist nicht adäquat etwa mit dem Auftrag, alle zum Eintritt in die Kirche zu veranlassen, wiederzugeben. Die Jünger-Vorstellung bei Mt scheint in der Schwebe zwischen einem rein 'pneumatischen' Jüngertum und einem juristischen Kirchentum zu bleiben. Formelle Zugehörigkeit zur Gemeinschaft wie inhaltliche Bestimmung des neuen Lebensstandes dürften in gleicher Weise mitgemeint sein und sich die Waage halten, wie es für den 'Christen' bis heute gilt." Against this, G. Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 212: "Die Aufgabe, die mit dieser Aussendung gestellt wird, ist in dem übergeordneten *μαθητεύσατε* zusammenfassend wiedergegeben: sie meint das 'in die Schule nehmen' der Völker, d.h. die Bildung der weltumspannenden EKKLESIA, wie das folgende interpretierende *ραπίζοντες* deutlich macht. In diesem grundlegenden Sinn steht *μαθητεύειν* synonym zum Auftrag an die Jünger Jesu, *ἀλλεῖς ἀνθρώπων* zu werden."

<sup>49</sup> As regards *Redaktionsgeschichte* of the passage, see: G. Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 209: "V.20 enthält eine Fülle matthäischer Elemente. Man möchte aus sprachlichen Gründen den Vers als Ganzes dem Redaktor zuerkennen, ...." Also W. Trilling, *op. cit.*, pp. 21ff., G. Bornkamm, "Enderwartung und Kirche im Matthäusevangelium", in: G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H.J. Held, *Ueberlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium*, Neukirchen, 1960, pp. 13-47, ET: "End expectation and Church in Matthew", in: *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, London and New York, 1963, p. 38, n. 1: "Matthew consistently distinguished between *κηρύσσειν* and *διδάσκειν*, the first relating to the message of God's reign and the second to the exposition of the law. It is true, that his Gospel speaks of preaching as well as teaching in relation to the people, just as, on the other hand, there is still preaching among the disciples, yet, for Matthew, the preaching has primarily a missionary function. It has the character of an announcement and promise of salvation, aiming at the *μαθητεύειν* which precedes the actual 'teaching'."

which Jesus commanded them.<sup>50</sup> In this way, the importance of the commands of Jesus, of the law, is once again underlined in the last verses of the Gospel. The teaching of his commandments is something which is more than a precondition of baptism; it characterises the preaching as a whole. The making of disciples occurs through baptism and the teaching of his commandments. The significance of the teaching of his commandments may become clearer by a comparison with the missionary command in the Markan conclusion. In Mark, faith is referred to in connection with baptism, but in Matthew, with the commandments of Jesus. In the preaching, the kingly rule of the exalted Lord comes to men, and in Matthew's mind this preaching is the teaching of his commandments of the law; in the preaching of the law, the kingly rule of Jesus Christ comes to men.

(f) It is worthy of note that apart from these later elements in Mt 28.19f., the earlier elements of the tradition contain by implication the missionary views of early Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. The command to conduct mission is not there connected with the sending out by the earthly Jesus, but is traced to the exalted Jesus. The mission to the Gentiles is not now regarded as an additional instruction, as in the case of Peter, but the commission is directed to all nations irrespectively. Since Jesus is already installed as ruler over the whole world,<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> cf. G. Barth, "Das Gesetzesverständnis des Evangelisten Matthäus", in: G. Barth, H.J. Held, G. Bornkamm, Ueberlieferung und Auslegung im Matthäusevangelium, Neukirchen, 1960, pp. 54-154 ET: "Matthew's Understanding of the Law", in: Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, London and New York, 1963, pp. 131f.: "It is also to be noted, that, in spite of the enthronement pattern and the theme of the *ἐξουσία* over heaven and earth, the *κύριος* title is not taken up here by Matthew, but from v. 20a Jesus is seen as the *διδάσκαλος*, this being in relation to the *μαθηταὶ*."

<sup>51</sup> cf. G. Bornkamm, "Der Auferstandene und der Irdische", in: Zeit und Geschichte, Tübingen, 1964, p. 176: "Wie die grosse Konzeption der universalen Völkermision, von der eben die Rede war, die Verzögerung der Parusie voraussetzt und ausspricht, hat die christologische Konzeption der Inthronisation Jesu zum Kyrios offensichtlich entscheidend dazu beigetragen, die palästinisch-urgemeindliche



the eschatological aspect has fundamentally changed. For, while the Palestinian Jewish Christians looked towards the end and to the coming of the Gentiles that was then to take place, the exaltation concept conveys the conviction, that an essential step towards the final completion has already been taken, and that, therefore, the gathering of the Gentiles can now begin. But how could such a commission that was directed to all nations come about?

In the earthly Jesus' commission, the important thing was the eschatological call to the gathering of God's people; the sending was concentrated on Israel, but, at the same time, it necessarily extended further. Jewish Christianity had, however, designed an apocalyptic division into two periods, and, according to old Jewish tradition, it had reserved the second and last step for God himself. Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, on the other hand, appreciated particularly the universal aspect of Jesus' commission, which Peter, too, had not disputed, Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, therefore, did not rely on Jesus' earthly commission, but understood the missionary command as a commission of the exalted Lord, the ruler of the worlds. "Here (sc. Mt 28.18ff.) we have the first fundamental motivation of the Gentile mission, obtained in reliance on and modification of the oldest expectation of the primitive Christianity."<sup>52</sup>

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51 (contd.)

Erwartung der Parusie des Menschensohnes aufs stärkste zu relativieren. Nichts wäre unangemessener als den Kyriosglauben einen Ersatz zu nennen, mit Hilfe dessen die spätere Gemeinde über ihre Enttäuschung hinwegzukommen versuchte." cf. W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 11: "Aus dem Vollbesitz der ἐξουσία erhält das ganze Stück mit seinen einzelnen Aussagen den Charakter der 'erfüllten Eschatologie'." Similarly, O. Michel, op. cit., p. 25.

As regards Matthew's understanding of Eschatology and Heilsgeschichte, see: G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>52</sup> F. Hahn, Der Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament, Neukirchen, 1963, ET: Mission in the New Testament, London, 1965, p. 68.

(g) The evangelist concludes with the promise of v.28.20b. The words

ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι indicate here not only the help and protection of Jesus in the carrying out of the missionary task, but the abiding presence of Jesus in the congregation.<sup>53</sup> One might say that, since, in Matthew, the missionary message consists of communicating the actual commandments of Jesus of Nazareth, the preaching itself actualizes the presence of the exalted Jesus Christ in the world.

O. Michel has observed that "I am with you" is a biblical way of expressing the assurance of divine protection.<sup>54</sup> Just as, at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel, the revelation given with Jesus is the revelation of Emmanuel, "God with us" (Mt 1.22-23. cf. Is 7.14), so, at the end, there is the promise from the exalted Christ of the same nearness and the same comfort. Did the evangelist find the statement already in the tradition, or is it his own construction? The latter is possible, since the thought of the presence of Christ in the congregation is found elsewhere in his Gospel.<sup>55</sup> In connection with this, 18.20 must be referred to, a saying which Matthew has obviously adopted from his special source and incorporated into the framework for the ordering of the congregation in 18.15-17. The presence of Jesus in the congregation is here described as analogous to the

<sup>53</sup> cf. E. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, MeyerK, Göttingen, 1962, p. 42, W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 26. As regards Redaktionsgeschichte, see: G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 209: "Man möchte aus sprachlichen Gründen den Vers als Ganzes dem Redaktor zuerkennen, wenn nicht die Verheissung der Gegenwart des Erhöhten (ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι) in anderer Form in 18, 20 als vormatthäische Vorstellung bezeugt und im Redaktionsgut singulär wäre; sie wird daher - unbeschadet der matthäischen Herkunft des weiteren Rahmens - der Tradition zuzuweisen sein."

<sup>54</sup> O. Michel, op. cit., n. 86.

<sup>55</sup> Against this, G. Strecker, op. cit., p. 209.



presence of the Shekinah,<sup>56</sup> the place of the Torah is taken by the *ὄνομα* of Jesus, the place of the Shekinah by Jesus himself. Matt 1.22-23 should also be referred to, where the question from Is 7.14 is due to Matthew, as the introductory formula shows. Matthew has added to the question, *ὅς ἐστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός*.

In Jesus, God himself is with the congregation, is presented in the congregation. The beginning of the Gospel thus corresponds with its end in 28.20.

In this connection, attention should also be directed to the story of the storm at sea in Matthew (8.23ff.). The interpretation of the journey of the disciples in the storm on the sea, with reference to discipleship and thus to the boat of the Church, presupposes that, as Jesus is in the ship with the disciples, so He is also present in the Church. In the Church, the exalted, the risen one, who is about to be the eschatological ruler remains present. The Church lives by his presence. The presence of Jesus in the congregation means for her sustenance and salvation in all the storms that break around her, gives her persistence in seeking the lost, since the risen one is present among them, who, like a shepherd, seeks the lost sheep (cf. 18.20).

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<sup>56</sup> cf. STB, II, pp. 314f., I, p. 794: "Aboth 3.2: R. Chanina b. Teradion (+ um 135) sagte: Wenn zwei (zusammen) sitzen, ohne dass Worte der Tora zwischen ihnen (Gesprächsstoff) sind, so ist das ein Sitz der Spötter, s. Ps 1.1: 'Auf dem Sitz der Spötter sitzt er nicht.' Aber wenn zwei (beieinander) sitzen u. Worte der Tora sind zwischen ihnen, so weilt die Schechina (Gottheit) unter ihnen." Concerning the discussion on the significance of the old rabbinic Shekinah concept, see the following literature; H.J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, Tübingen, 1911, p. 69, L.A. Marmorstein, "Iranische und jüdische Religion, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Begriffe 'Wort', 'Wohnen' und 'Glorie' im IV. Evangelium und in der rabbinischen Literatur", ZeitNTWiss, 26, 1927, pp. 231-242, D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1956, pp. 27-32, W. Trilling, op. cit., p. 28.: "So wird aus dem Vergleich mit 18,20 nochmals die direkte Herleitung von 28,20b aus der oben beschriebenen atl Anschauung von dieser dynamischen, aktiven Gegenwart JHWHs bestätigt. Diese Gegenwart wird realisiert in der Gegenwart des Kyrios bei seinem Volke. ... Die Verwandtschaft des Logions 18,20 mit der rabbinischen Schechinah Vorstellung und besonders mit dem bekannten Tora wort gilt weithin als gesichert."

Matthew mediates this presence of the risen one to the congregation by importing the present situation of the Church into the life of the earthly Jesus and his disciples; that is, the equating of the Church with the disciples is connected with the presence of the risen one in the congregation, whose doubt is overcome by the saying of Jesus that follows, that makes known to them his exaltation and rule and gives them their commission. It is not the seeing of the risen one that brings the Easter certainty and not the physical converse with the earthly Jesus, but the word of proclamation, that is understood to be as the preaching of the law, sc. the commandments of Jesus. Therefore, one might say, that, in Matthew, Easter certainty is dependent on the occupation of a man with the Torah. Although this occupation involves the doing of the Torah, nevertheless the Easter certainty is not a consequence of obedience to the law, but rather comes to a man with the proclamation of the word, the commandments of Jesus.

To conclude this discussion, the following points may now be particularly noted: V.18b, conveying the assertion of authority of the exalted Lord, and probably being derived from royal messianology or the enthronement theme in the Old Testament, is set as a framework of the whole passage, vv.18-20. Other traditions, which convey missionary command and the idea of help, are combined in this framework and, as has been observed, are recast to a considerable extent by the evangelist (vv.19-20). Although some questions such as the origin of the construction of the pericope, (sc. v.18 + vv.19-20), and the tradition history of the three basic elements noted here, remain still rather obscure, yet the main themes of the evangelist in this pericope are clear, that is: on the one hand, the presence of the exalted Lord with his community, which is the ground of the Easter certainty, is the inspiration and support of its mission; on the other hand, by its mission to the nations, which is in each case, in Matthew's mind, the proclamation of the



commandments of Jesus, the Church makes real to the world the presence of the exalted Lord.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, in this sense, one may perhaps note this mission motif as Matthew's particular redactional contribution to the Easter tradition.

### 5.3 Summary

#### A. The account of the Empty tomb (Mt 28.1-15)

Matthew's text of the empty tomb, and of the subterfuge of the Jewish elders in enticing the guard to spread the rumour, shows a development of the tradition to meet the needs of Christian apologetic.

In view of Redaktionsgeschichte there are three points to note:

(a) Matthew strikes out the account of the anointing of the body on the third day, probably because the process of decay would have already begun in Palestine.

(b) Matthew's account strongly influenced by Old Testament language, shows the author's intention, i.e. the empty tomb has become the truly wonderful work through which the God of Israel and the God of Jesus has completed his great divine plan.

(c) Matthew links the story of the empty tomb with what has gone before and with what follows, forming a continuous narrative.

#### B. Appearance stories (Mt 28.9f., 16-20)

1) The motif of proving the resurrection by means of the appearance of the risen Jesus, which is dominant in Luke 24.13-35, Jn 20.1-18, is but faintly developed in Mt 28.9f. This is only an appendix to the story of the empty tomb. In Mt 28.16-20, however, the motif of the missionary charge is dominant.

2) Concerning two types of the appearance stories in 1 Corinthians 15 (together with Lk 24.33-34) and in the Gospels, it is noted that there is some serious breach

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<sup>57</sup> cf. H. Anderson, "The Easter witness of the Evangelists", in: The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective, ed., H. Anderson and W. Barclay, Oxford, 1965, p. 47.

of continuity. Paul handed on to his churches what he had received. This tradition somehow did not come to the men who wrote the Gospels, either by Paul or by any other intermediary. Complete certainty is not, however, possible.

C. vv.16f.

1) Some tradition that the eleven disciples went to Galilee and that Jesus appeared to them there must have been in existence before Mt, but that it was the lost conclusion of Mk and that Mt modifies this is improbable.

2) The theme of the mountain may go back to Matthew.

3) The emphasis is laid not on the appearance itself but rather on the words of Jesus that follow the appearance: sc. the Commission. The mention of doubt in Matthew serves the purpose of the overcoming of this doubt through what is reported in the following verses, namely, the word of Jesus. The doubt-motif probably implies the problem of the later church, which seeks a new certainty about the risen one in the time after the Easter appearances. Therefore, the mention of doubt belongs to a later time, not to the tradition itself.

D. vv.18-20

1) The item of tradition in vv.18-20 does not in present form belong to the earliest tradition: A tripartite text with the assertion of authority in v.18, the missionary command in vv.19, 20a, and the promise of help in v.20b- these three parts must originally have been independent of each other. The whole passage is dominated by the theme of exaltation, which represents a recasting of ancient eschatological expectation.

2) Mark 16.15-18 refers to the missionary command, baptism and the promise of signs, sc. triumph over demons, poison and disease. That is, missionary command is connected with the idea of help - like Mt 28.19, 20a and 20b.



3) However, a characteristic of the Matthean text is to be noted in the concept of Jesus' exaltation, which becomes settled in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity and is expressed here with the help of the enthronement pattern.

4) As to the Old Testament background of the text (v.18b), Ps 2, 72.8ff., 110.1 are particularly to be taken into consideration in connection with the royal messianology, the enthronement theme and the messianic eschatological prophecy.

5) vv.19, 20a are to be understood as editorial intervention, or at least as the influence of later views. *Μαθητεύσατε* belongs to Matthean thought, which is strictly tied to the law and Jesus' interpretation of it. The teaching of his commandments, as Matthew understands it, is not merely the proclamation of baptism, but characterises the preaching as a whole. Preaching means the teaching of his commandments of the law and in the preaching of the law the kingly rule of Jesus Christ comes to men.

6) Apart from these later (Matthean) elements in vv.19, 20a, the earlier elements of the tradition are preserved and allow one *a posteriori* insight into the missionary view of early Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. The command to conduct mission is traced to the exalted Jesus, the exalted Lord, rather than to the earthly Jesus. The commission is directed to all nations. Hellenistic Jewish Christianity took seriously this universal aspect of Jesus' commission. Therefore, one could say that here one has the first fundamental motivation of the Gentile mission, obtained in reliance on and by modification of the oldest expectation of primitive Christianity.

7) V.20b shows the abiding presence of Jesus in the congregation. Here the preaching itself actualizes the presence of the exalted Jesus Christ to the world. The statement belongs to Matthean construction, together with the phrases, 1.22-23, 8.23ff., 18.20.

8) Matthew mediates the presence of the risen Jesus to the congregation by importing the present situation of the Church into the life of the earthly Jesus and his disciples. The equating of the Church with the disciples is connected with the presence of the risen Jesus in the congregation. The doubt of the congregation is overcome by the saying of Jesus, that makes known to them his exaltation and rule and gives them their commission. In Matthew's mind, it is not seeing the risen Jesus that awakens Easter certainty nor physical converse with a Jesus who seemed to be as he had once been when he was on earth, but the word of proclamation, that is understood as the preaching of the Law.

To conclude this discussion, the following points are particularly worthy of note: V.18b, which conveys the assertion of authority of the exalted Lord, and is, most probably, derived from royal messianology or the enthronement theme in the Old Testament, is set as an important framework of the whole passage, vv.18-20. Other traditions, conveying missionary command and the idea of help, are amalgamated in this framework and are recast to a considerable extent by the evangelist so as to provide a proper conclusion for his own particular version of the Gospel (vv.19-20). How far this construction, sc. v.18b + vv.19-20, is due to the evangelist's redactional work and to what extent the three basic elements had already exercised a mutual attraction in the pre-Matthean stage, is much debated, however, and remains still rather obscure. Nevertheless the main themes of the evangelist in this pericope are clear, that is: on the one hand, the presence of the exalted Lord with his community, which is the ground of the Easter certainty, is the inspiration and support of its mission; on the other hand, by its mission to the nations, which is in each case, in Matthew's mind, the proclamation of the commandments of Jesus, the Church makes real to the world the presence of the exalted Lord. Therefore, in this sense, one may note this mission motif as Matthew's particular redactional contribution to the Easter tradition.



## Chapter 6 Luke 24.1-50

Luke's Easter witness is more fully developed than either Mark's or Matthew's. It is not only that his Easter account is more extensive and alone includes the Emmaus story, but also one has to reckon with the fact that only Luke has followed his Gospel with a second volume, in which he tells of the ascension of Jesus Christ in physical terms. What is the significance of the Easter narratives in Luke? The best procedure seems to be to clarify first the nature of the text by critical-historical analysis in order then to understand theological implications.

### 6.1 Form-critical study

#### A. Emmaus story (Lk 24.13-35)

According to the form-critical study worked out by C.H. Dodd, Lk 24.13-35 (the walk to Emmaus), (as, too, Jn 21.1-14: the appearance by the Sea), belongs to "circumstantial narratives", "Class II".<sup>1</sup> Emmaus Story is a highly-finished literary composition. The author has lost no opportunity of evoking an imaginative response in the reader. The pace of the story is leisurely, and the lapse of time is extensive. The walk enlivened by conversation, continues until one finds that time has slipped by. The return journey to Jerusalem is felt, by contrast, to be hurried and interest passes to the reunion of the travellers with the eleven, and the interchange of news. The changing moods of the two travellers

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<sup>1</sup> Definition of Class II by C.H. Dodd see: "The Appearance of the Risen Christ; An essay in Form-Criticism of the Gospels" in: Studies in the Gospels, ed., by D.E. Nineham, Oxford, 1955, p. 13: Pericopae in the Gospels which give a circumstantial narrative of the appearances. The added matter is almost entirely of the nature of dramatic or picturesque detail, especially in the presentation of the recognition of the Lord by his disciples. A marked feature is the introduction of a common meal at which the risen Lord "breaks bread" for his disciples. The resurrection is thus associated with the eucharistic ideas and practice of the early Church. For the rest, it cannot be said that these circumstantial narratives alter the perspective of the implications of the briefer type of narrative.

are convincingly expressed: their encounter with the stranger and their invitation to him (to change his plan of journeying further) are managed with naturalness: and the scene of recognition at the supper table, with the immediate disappearance of the mysterious guest, is dramatically effective. One may observe also the identification of persons and places: the name of one of the two, Cleopas, the village of Emmaus, sixty stades from Jerusalem. These are none of them traits of corporate tradition. Rather "they are characteristic of the practised story-teller, who knows just how to put his story across".<sup>2</sup>

Further, the writer uses here the traditional form of an attractive story as a setting for a comprehensive treatment of the theme of Christ's resurrection in its character of a reunion of the Lord with his followers. The dialogue develops and leads up to a basic programme for the study of "testimonies" from the Old Testament, that is the foundation of the earliest theological task of the primitive church. The recognition of Jesus at table carries a significant implication to a community that makes the "breaking of bread" the centre of its fellowship.

The story is so managed as to include the discovery of the empty tomb, the angelic announcement, and the appearance of the Lord to Peter, so that the pericope as a whole forms a kind of summary "Gospel of the resurrection".

Therefore, it is perhaps clear that here one has "no mere expansion of the general pattern, but a carefully-composed statement, which, in the framework of a narrative of intense dramatic interest, includes most of what needs (from this evangelist's point of view) to be said about the resurrection of Christ."<sup>3</sup> "It is, however, worth noting that here, as elsewhere, the story begins with the disciples feeling the loss of their Lord, that Jesus takes the initiative and that the

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<sup>2</sup> C.H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> C.H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 14.



dramatic centre of the whole incident is the *ἀναγνώρισις* — for it seems proper in this case to use the technical term applied by ancient literary critics to the recognition - scene which was so often the crucial point of a Greek drama."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> C.H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 14f.  
 R. Bultmann maintains (Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition, Göttingen, 1963, ET: The History of the Synoptic Tradition, Oxford, 1963, p. 286) that the passage of the Walk to Emmaus (Lk 24.13-35) has the character of a true legend. cf. H. Gunkel, Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen, 1903, p. 71: "In grössern Massen können wir Mythisches in den Geschichten von Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen konstatieren. Besonders uralt im Stil ist die Geschichte von den Jüngern zu Emmaus: Christus erscheint hier unbekannt, als Wanderer - so wie es die Gottheit vor alters liebte, in schlichter menschlicher Gestalt, etwa als Wanderer verkleidet, unter den Menschen zu wandeln und offenbart sein geheimnisvolles göttliches Wesen an einzelnen Zügen; aber sobald er erkannt wird, ist er verschwunden. Dieser Aufriss der Geschichte ist ganz analog den ältesten Erzählungen vom Erscheinen der Gottheit, die Geschichte könnte ihrem Stil nach in der Genesis stehen." In this context, H. Gunkel refers to the story of Hagar in Gen 16.7ff., of the three men who visited Abraham, Gen 18.1ff., and others like them. - Genesis, Göttingen, 1901, pp. 193ff. Dibelius ("Die alttestamentlichen Motive in der Leidensgeschichte des Petrus und des Johannes-Evangeliums," ZeitAltWiss, Supplement, 33, Giessen, 1918, p. 137) recalls the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, pp. 275ff., (The attendant changed herself into the Goddess.) and on the story of Epidauros' healing, Ditt. Syll(2), 803, pp. 26ff. (the unknown traveller reveals himself after the healing in Asclepius). And cf. Hans D. Betz, Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament, Berlin, 1961, pp. 124ff.; A. Ehrhardt, "The Disciples of Emmaus", NTStud, 10, 1964, pp. 194ff.; E. Lohse, Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi im Zeugnis des Lukasevangeliums, Neukirchen, 1961, p. 31: "In der christlichen Gemeinde, in der die Geschichte von den Emmausjüngern zuerst erzählt wurde, hat man ein Motiv frommer Ueberlieferung verwendet, wie es bei vielen Völkern der alten Welt bekannt war: Unerkannt kommt in Menschengestalt Gott selbst auf die Erde und begegnet Gläubigen und Ungläubigen. So kamen nach 1 Mose 18 einst drei Männer zu Abraham nach Mamre, wurden von ihm gastlich aufgenommen und verhiessen ihm, dass er noch im hohen Alter einen Sohn bekommen werde. Einer unter diesen drei Männern war der Herr selbst, der dem gehorsamen Abraham seine Verheissung gab, über die gottlosen Städte Sodom und Gomorrha aber das Gericht verhängte. Bei den Griechen und Römern heisst es, einst seien Jupiter und Minerva in Menschengestalt in ein Dorf gegangen, hätten aber überall verschlossene Türen gefunden. Niemand tat ihnen auf, nur ein altes Paar, Philemon und Baucis, nahm die unbekannten Wanderer gastlich auf. Sie bewirteten sie, so gut sie es vermochten, Beim Mahl ging auf wunderbare Weise der Wein nicht zur Neige. Da gaben sich die Götter den beiden Alten zu erkennen und befahlen, ihnen auf einen Hügel zu folgen. Dort sahen sie, wie das zu ihren Füßen liegende Dorf vernichtet worden war, nur ihre Hütte, in die die Götter eingekehrt waren, stand an ihrem Ort und wurde in einen Tempel der Götter verwandelt. Der Wunsch der beiden Alten, die den Göttern geweihte Stätte zu hüten und dereinst gemeinsam sterben zu dürfen, wurde ihnen gewährt."

As regards the account of the appearance of the Lord to seven disciples by the sea of Galilee (Jn 21.1-14) see; C.H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 14f.

# B. The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49)

The appearance to the disciples in Lk 24.36-49 seems to be an edited passage having as its basis an older legend which included an appearance in Galilee: vv.44-49 is obviously in its entirety a literary production of Luke.<sup>5</sup> C.H. Dodd<sup>6</sup> points out that in these passages, the main items in the pattern of "concise" narratives reappear, though much modified:

- 1) They were talking together.
- 2) Jesus stood in the midst (cf. Jn 20.19).
- 3) (He said "Peace to you", as in Jn 20.19, but not in the "Western Text.").
- 4) The process of recognition is greatly spun out: at first the disciples are terrified (cf. Matt 28.10), and think they are seeing a ghost: Jesus tenders proof by pointing to his hands and feet (cf. Jn 20.20) and invites them to touch him (cf. Jn 20.27). They are still incredulous, and he tenders final proof by eating in their presence.
- 5) The concluding word of command is here replaced by a longish address consisting of (a) instruction regarding the use of testimonies from the Old Testament. (cf. Lk 24.26-27), (b) a commission to preach (cf. Mt 28.19), and (c) the assurance of the help of the spirit (cf. Jn 20.22-23 Mt 28.20, where the presence of Christ is equivalent.)

In most of the pericopae, the proofs of identity are hardly more than hinted at. Jn 20.20 is the only pericope that explicitly tells that Christ pointed to his wounds. Though Lk 24.40 is not certainly part of the original text, there is a formal pronouncement of Christ which makes the point far more emphatic. Here

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<sup>5</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> C.H. Dodd, op. cit., p. 17.



he bids them "Feel me, and look: a ghost has not flesh and bones, as you see that I have." (cf. Mt 28.9: the women clasp the Lord's feet in a spontaneous gesture of devotion). Here, he asks for food, and clinches the proof that a real person is before them by actually eating broiled fish in their presence. (In the "Longer-Ending" of Mark, the Lord appears to the eleven at table. In the Emmaus story - also in the appendix to the fourth Gospel: he is known to his followers in the breaking of bread.)

Therefore, the pericope is no longer a simple traditional story of the appearance of the Lord: "It is a piece of controversial apologetic set in the framework of such a story."<sup>7</sup> The simpler narratives carry something of the naive, spontaneous sense of the primitive believers that something almost beyond belief has happened. Here, however, one has something different: the faith must be defended by argument, not against the natural doubts of simple people, but against a reflective and sophisticated scepticism. In this connection, Dodd argues that "it may perhaps best be characterized as an example of the 'concise' type of narrative in which apologetic motives have caused everything else to be subordinated to an elaborate presentation, not indeed of the ἀναγνώρισις itself, but of the grounds upon which such recognition was based."<sup>8</sup> Bultmann<sup>9</sup> also properly observes that Lk 24.13-35 belongs to that type of story which contains the motif of the resurrection by the appearance of the risen Lord and that Lk 24.36-49 (cf. Acts 1.3-8) contains the two motifs, the motif of proving the resurrection and the motif of the missionary charge of the risen Lord.

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<sup>7</sup> C.H. Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> C.H. Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

## 6.2 Tradition and redaction history and the significance of the Easter narratives in Luke.

### A. Context (Luke 23.49-56):

v.49: Women are named as being witnesses of the crucifixion, but their names are not given, at least at this point. They are not alone, they are together with all Jesus' acquaintances and one is told that the women had followed Jesus from Galilee.

vv.50-53: Joseph of Arimathea sees to the burial, while the women look on. Luke again mentions that they had come from Galilee with Jesus. They return to the city and immediately begin to prepare spices and ointments, but not just on the day after the Sabbath, as in Mark.

v.56: They do nothing on the Sabbath itself. They rest, in accordance with Jewish law.

At the end of the story of the empty tomb which follows, the names of the women are referred to: Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James, and others. If one takes these passages together it is, perhaps, possible to gain an indication of Luke's method of procedure and of his intention. That is, here, Luke links the Easter stories with Jesus' ministry in Galilee by making the Galilean group witnesses of the events in Jerusalem. Moreover, it should be noticed that in Luke's mind the witness-motif which appears in its "Galilean form" (cf. v.55) is parallel to the witness-motif in (Acts 13.31), where the circle to whom the risen Lord appeared is restricted to the "Galileans". H. Conzelmann is, perhaps, right to maintain that there is an unmistakably polemical note here, that reflects rivalries within the Church.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> H. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit, Tübingen, 1954, ET: The Theology of St. Luke, London, 1960, p. 202.



## B. The resurrection of Jesus (Lk 24.1-11)

On the first day of the week the women came with their spices to the tomb and find that the stone is rolled away. They enter the tomb, but do not find the body there and are perplexed. Then, two men clothed in shining garments approach them. The women are terrified and bow their faces to the ground. The men say to them: "Why do you seek the living among the dead? (He is not here, but has risen.) Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee, that the Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful man and be crucified, and on the third day rise." The women now remember Jesus' words and they go away from the tomb and tell the eleven disciples and the others all that has happened. At this point, three of the women who tell the story to the apostles are named, although one is told that there are more than just these three. The apostles, however, do not believe: They think that what the women say is an idle tale.

Like the other evangelists, Luke has already worked upon traditional materials:<sup>11</sup> The Marcan source is visible through the Lucan account at many points. Luke, however, rather drastically edited the Marcan version of the empty tomb story. As usual, both Matthew and Luke omit and transpose Marcan details, but Luke goes further even than he usually does by giving to the whole story a meaning which is quite different from the meaning which the Matthean, the Marcan and the original versions share: in these latter versions the point is not to report the physical resurrection as a historical inference from the "historical" fact of the empty tomb, but to convey the assurance by the *κεανίσκος* (Mark) or by the *ἄγγελος* (Matthew) that Jesus was raised from the dead, *ἡγέρθη*, and that he is preceding "the disciples" to Galilee (Mk 16.6-8, Mt 28.5-8). Luke makes the following singular points:

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<sup>11</sup> H. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

## 1) The order of events.

The order of events is altered: the women first discover that the tomb is empty, only then it is explained to them why this is so. And the women are at a loss , ἀπορείᾱσαι , on their finding the stone rolled away and the tomb empty (v.4a).

What the two men say sounds like a reproach and is probably so intended, for Jesus had prophesied his resurrection while he was in Galilee (Lk 9.22). So, the fact that the women come to the tomb shows that they did not believe Jesus, or that they misunderstood him. After they remember and bring the message to the apostles, they remain quite unconvinced. Peter also, if verse 12 is genuine, departs from the tomb still debating with himself.

P. Schubert draws particular attention to the question, "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" and remarks that "With this simple and profound rhetorical question Luke noticeably diminishes the interest in the empty tomb as providing by itself direct or even inferential evidence for the fact of Jesus' resurrection."<sup>12</sup> For Luke apparently the empty tomb by itself is no proof of the resurrection.

## 2) The accounts of locality.

In Mark the young man tells the women to send the disciples and Peter to Galilee, where they will see Jesus. In the Marcan text, as one has it, no meeting in Galilee follows, though it does in Matthew. By contrast, Luke transforms this point into a reminiscence of Galilee: the angels refer to a prophecy, made by Jesus while he was still in Galilee, regarding what would occur in Jerusalem, his passion and resurrection there (Lk 24.26). One thus encounters one of Luke's

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<sup>12</sup> P. Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24", in: Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann, Berlin, 1954, p. 167.



special "themes": Jerusalem must be the centre for the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation and the base for the mission to the Gentiles.<sup>13</sup> (cf. Lk 2.25-38, 9.51).

3) The motif of the proof from the prophecy.

VV.6(b)-10 is the most noteworthy and positive change which Luke makes in the story of the empty tomb. Here, prominent is the so-called "fulfilment of prophecy" motif in its particularly Lucan form.

P. Schubert maintains that Luke furnishes the empty tomb tradition with the climax (vv.5-9) which one may briefly call "the proof from prophecy" that Jesus is the Christ.<sup>14</sup> It is apparent that for Luke, Jesus' own predictions of his suffering (cf. 17.25ff., 18.31ff., 24.46f.), death and resurrection which continue, confirm and elaborate scriptural prophecies, are regarded as the decisive proof that Jesus is the Christ, and that God has raised him from the dead. The women remembered these words of Jesus (this might be Luke's redactional contribution), but the apostles on hearing their report could not believe it (v.10). This last statement is most likely part of the empty tomb tradition which Luke used (cf. Mk 16.7).<sup>15</sup>

It might be no accident, however, that Luke in the gospel calls the twelve "apostles" (here and in five other passages) and that the term is confined to the twelve (28 occurrences in Luke-Acts: no occurrences in Acts 17-28 as over against 23 occurrences in Paul's seven letters. Only in 14.14 are Barnabas and Paul

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<sup>13</sup> H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 73ff. pp. 93f.

<sup>14</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., pp. 173f.

<sup>15</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 174.

spoken of as apostles.)<sup>16</sup>

### C. Luke 24.12.

According to the passage Peter ran to the tomb, despite the unbelief mentioned in 24.11 - or perhaps because of it, looked in, saw only the grave - clothes and went away wondering, but without arriving at belief.

It must be noticed that the passage contains a summary of Jn 20.3-10 (except for the absence of the beloved disciples), with striking verbal similarities:

Lk: *μνηρεῖον, ἔδραμεν, παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ  
ὀθόνια μόνα, ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν,*

Jn: *μνηρεῖον (20.3), ἔτρεχον (20.4), παρακύψας βλέπει  
κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια (20.5), ἀπῆλθον οὖν πάλιν  
πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ μαθηταί (20.10).*

Lk 24.12, however, is not read by D it Marcion; the common vocabulary is predominantly Johannine: *ὀθόνια* is found elsewhere in the New Testament only in Jn 19.40 in the burial account, whereas Luke there has *σινδών* ;

*ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς* occurs three other times in John, never in Luke-Acts;  
*παρακύπτειν* is found elsewhere in John (e.g. 20.11), but never in Luke-Acts.

To be sure, some of the phraseology special to Lk 24.12 is Lucan:

*τὸ γεγονός* occurs six other times in Luke (and Acts), never in the other three gospels, and *ἀνίστημι* in participial form preceding the main verb is

characteristically Lucan. Hoskyns maintains that Lk 24.12 constitutes an original part of the Gospel, and that Lk 24.24 is based on it,<sup>17</sup> but the fact that several

<sup>16</sup> cf. C.F. Evans, Resurrection and the New Testament, London, 1970, p. 58: "It could, however, be due to Luke, who would here be preparing for the special position of the apostles in Acts as witnesses to the resurrection and preachers of the gospel of the resurrection."

<sup>17</sup> The Fourth Gospel, London, 1948.



men are mentioned in v.24, but only Peter in v.12, militates against this. On the whole, the evidence points to the interpolation of v.12 on the basis of John's account, by a scribe who thought that the reference to the disciples' having gone to the tomb in 24.24 required a mention of the event when it occurred and used for this purpose his reminiscence of an incident from John - thereby incidentally softening the harsh picture of disbelief given in Lk 24.11.<sup>18</sup> If this is not the case, the natural explanation may be that Jn 20.3-10 and Lk 24.12, both are taking excerpts from a common source.<sup>19</sup>

#### D. The Walk to Emmaus (Lk 24.13-35)

On the same day, that is, on the first day of the week, Sunday, two of the disciples, one of whom, Cleopas, is named, meet Jesus on the road to Emmaus, they meet but do not recognize him. He joins in their conversation and they tell him why they are so sad. Jesus of Nazareth showed himself to be a prophet mighty in deed and in word, so that they hoped that it was he who was to redeem Israel, but now he had been crucified. They were astonished by the women who went to the tomb and did not find the body, but saw an angel who told them that Jesus was alive. Some of them went to the tomb and found that what the women had said was true, but they did not see Jesus. Jesus now teaches the disciples from the Scriptures, explaining that Christ had to suffer and enter into his glory. They arrive at their destination and the disciples beg their companion, who is preparing to go further, to stay with them because it is evening. Their companion assumes the position of head of the family although as guest this is not his place, takes the

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<sup>18</sup> F. Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, Göttingen, 1963, ET: The Titles of Jesus in Christology, London, 1969, p. 377, n. 177. Also see E. Klostermann, Das Lukasevangelium, Tübingen, 1919, p. 233.

<sup>19</sup> cf. R. Leaney, "The Resurrection Narratives in Luke, 24.12-53." NTStud 2 pp. 114ff.

bread, gives thanks, breaks it and gives it to them. Then the eyes of the disciples are opened and they recognize Jesus. But he immediately vanishes. The disciples at once start off for Jerusalem, because they want to tell the others of their experience as soon as possible. But at first they do not find an opportunity, for the eleven and others who are assembled in Jerusalem forestall them with the announcement: "The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon." Only then can the Emmaus disciples recount their experience.

The text, as one now has it, is neither congruent and homogeneous in itself, nor simply an account of a historical event.<sup>20</sup> Instead one has to do with a thoroughly polished literary creation embodying the most comprehensive "theology of the resurrection".

#### 1) The intention of the tradition.

Form-critically one can classify the Emmaus story not as a narrative, but as a "legend".<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the main intention of the story is not to bring bare historical facts to one's knowledge in an objective way, but it has entirely to do with the Easter faith and its theological implications which are brought to one's attention in the form of a narrative so that one might become receptive to its implied theological content. Therefore, in the process of interpretation one must keep in mind the principle that one is dealing with matters of proclamation, not with accounts about historical facts in the ordinary sense of the word.

#### 2) Luke's editorial work.

One must state that the text, as one reads it now, is not a unity in itself,

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<sup>20</sup> R. Bultmann op. cit., pp. 286f. p. 437.

<sup>21</sup> See: section on Form-criticism. cf. M. Dibelius, Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1956, ET: From Tradition to Gospel, London, 1934, p. 191: "... the story of Emmaus is the only Easter Legend in the New Testament which has been preserved in an almost pure form.."



but is a composition out of various elements. However, whether Luke had to hand a literary source, is very difficult to prove. The story has some affinity with Greek tragedy, for it reaches its development in the *ἀναγνώρισις*, in this case the travellers' recognition of the stranger in their midst, as has been noted already. The basic elements may come from the Lucan source material, a fact which, however, does not automatically imply that the entire passage is primitive. P. Schubert, basing his view that Luke's proof from prophecy is the heart of his concern on chap. 24, holds that v.14, v.15a, vv.17-27, v.32 and v.35a belong to Luke's editorial work.<sup>22</sup> J.A. Bailey,<sup>23</sup> however, points out the fact that the disciples' going to the tomb in v.24 conflicts with their reaction of disbelief in v.11, which latter verse definitely stems from Luke and represents his alteration of Mk 16.8 in order to make room for the Emmaus story. Luke could certainly have avoided the conflict by constructing v.11 without mention of scepticism on the part of the disciples. However, that would have resulted in v.11's being in too flagrant conflict with Mk 16.8. Thus, Bailey concludes that the Emmaus story was in written form when Luke encountered it, and that the v.24 tradition of the disciples' going to the tomb was already embedded in it.

In connection with this tradition-historical problem, F. Hahn,<sup>24</sup> developing and modifying Schubert's analysis, distinguishes between two pre-Lucan stages of development, a simple narrative of the appearance of the risen Christ to the two

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<sup>22</sup> We shall see P. Schubert's arguments again later. *sc. op. cit.*, p. 174: "These few verses (13. 15b, 16, 28-31) are the only parts left of the 'original' story as Luke found it."

<sup>23</sup> J.A. Bailey, *The Traditions Common to the Gospels of Luke and John*, *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, Leiden, 1963, Vol. VII., p. 88.

<sup>24</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 376: "This story, which certainly has an early core, has in its present rendering been extended to a twofold way. As additions there are to be regarded: the appendix vv.33-35 and all the elements which are associated with the conversation, therefore vv.14, 15a, 17-27, 32." Consequently, Hahn tends to view that Luke took over the narrative in vv.13-15 almost entirely.

disciples and its expansion by an instructive dialogue: the original story recorded merely that the risen Jesus as an unknown traveller met the two disciples and made himself known to them at a meal, and then disappeared. To this original story, the instructive dialogue, (vv.14, 15a, 17-27, 32), as a completely new focal point, and vv.33-35 and vv.21b-24, which link it with other narratives, were probably added.

However, it is perhaps not possible to reconstruct the original form of the tradition completely. Yet, it is not difficult to see that these few verses, v.13, v.15b, 16, vv.28-31, contain nearly everything of the original story. It was an appearance story which was dominated wholly by the motif of a recognition scene, a type of story, which is familiar from ancient mythology, legend and literature.<sup>25</sup>

F. Hahn analyses vv.19-27 carefully and points out three different elements which have, in his view, been interfused: a statement about Jesus as *ἀνὴρ προφήτης* in vv.19b, 21b, then in vv.20, 21b-24a summary of the passion and Easter happenings, finally in vv.25-27 a tradition about the passion of Christ as necessary for Scriptural reasons.<sup>26</sup> V.19b introduces the motif of power in deeds and words, which also appears in Acts 7.22b, 36, 38. Hahn regards it as the

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<sup>25</sup> cf. R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 286. H. Gunkel, Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments, Göttingen, 1903, p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 377f.

On v.26 and the tradition of the Son of Man, see: H.E. Tödt, Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Ueberlieferung, Gütersloh, 1963, ET: The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, London, 1965, p. 290: "Luke himself demonstrates in 24.26 that in his understanding the entry into glory is not implied in the Son of Man concept."



"tradition about the eschatological prophet".<sup>27</sup> In 24.21, one finds that this idea, the statement about Jesus as a prophet, is brought into association with the hope of the realization of an earthly messianic kingdom, a hope which according to these disciples had been disappointed. Therefore, one could say that what the text certainly permits one to recognize is an application of the eschatological prophet conception to the earthly work of Jesus and a close association with the Messiah conception. And the one main implication of the account seems to be the replacement of the interpretation of Jesus as the eschatological prophet by that of Jesus as the suffering Christ.

The idea of Jesus as the eschatological prophet like Moses possibly reaches back to the early Palestinian stratum of the New Testament tradition. But, concerning the question, how far Luke preserves in the passage, vv.19-27, the original material, complete certainty is not possible. All one can say is that Luke preserves here very early material which conveys the idea of the eschatological prophet and reconstructs the whole story according to his theologumenon, the true, scriptural interpretation of Jesus as the suffering Christ, sc. the proof from prophecy theology.

### 3) The appearance to Peter (v.34)

In vv.13-35 two appearances are recorded in the same close, literary context:

- (a) the appearance to Cleopas and his unnamed companion on the way to and in Emmaus.
- (b) the appearance to Simon (v.34).

Of these two, the appearance to Peter is important, especially in view of the tradition-history, because there is a parallel to 1 Cor 15.3ff., where Paul names Peter as the first of the witnesses to whom Jesus appeared. This, however, is the

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<sup>27</sup> F. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 376f.: "This tradition of the eschatological prophet is already recognizable in the late Jewish tradition, and precisely in view of Jesus' earthly life it manifestly attained great significance."

case in none of the other Gospels. In Mark no appearances are mentioned at all. In Matthew Jesus appears first to the two women at the tomb and then to the eleven in Galilee: there is no reference to a special appearance to Peter. In John, Jesus appears first to Mary Magdalene, although it is Peter who is the first to believe.<sup>28</sup> Luke (24.34) and Paul, however, agree that the first appearance of the risen Lord was to Peter, though Luke, in the context of chapter 24, mentions it only briefly in spite of Peter's eminence in Acts, only "in order to heighten the dramatic effect on the reader of the developments arising from the Emmaus story with its immediate consequence and its significance."<sup>29</sup> Thus, this verse (24.34) has the effect of a deliberate correction. For, it interrupts the context of the original story. The Greek shows that the phrase is a stylized one - a kind of formalized creed, which has a close verbal similarity to 1 Cor 15.5, καὶ ὅτι ὡφθῆ Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα. It is, therefore, a justifiable inference that this verse does not originally belong to the Emmaus story, but was inserted later. Whether it was inserted by Luke or by an earlier hand is not clear.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> About appearances to Peter in John, see: J.A. Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 88ff.

<sup>29</sup> P. Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>30</sup> cf. P. Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 170: "At any rate 1 Cor 15.5ff. makes clear, at least as far as the appearance to Peter is concerned, that Luke, with all the freedom which he employs as a literary and theological interpreter, works with traditional materials, some of which he must have been at pains to secure, and some of which we are less able to classify as early or late, as 'reliable' or 'unreliable'. I am inclined to think that an older and simpler Emmaus tradition circulated somewhere where Luke came to know it as an independent unit of tradition." "Similarly a separate, independent appearance story is back of verse 36-43, but the datum that this appearance was 'to the eleven and to those who were with them' (v.33) is Luke's own contribution, based on separate information through tradition, to this literary context." Concerning the problem of the discrepancy of the appearances stories in 1 Cor 15.3ff. and Synoptic Gospels, see chapter 5.



4) The motif of the proof from prophecy (vv.17-27, v.32, v.35a):

Verses 17-27, 32 and 35a, belongs to items, which were later, according to P. Schubert, added to carry the motif of the "fulfilment of prophecy",<sup>31</sup> or proof

30 (contd.)

As regards the theological significance of the appearance at Emmaus, one could observe that no stress is laid on the significance of the appearance itself. The accent lies on the "recognition scene" in Jesus' blessing, breaking and giving the bread (v.31). Then the eyes of the two travellers, which up to this moment "had been held" from recognizing him (v.16), "were opened". P. Schubert (op. cit., p. 172) considers that the Emmaus story, as Luke found it, ended with verse 31, which is a very effective and truly dramatic climax of the recognition appearance. Recently, Hans D. Betz ("The Origins and Nature of Christian Faith According to the Emmaus Legend," Interpretation 23, 1969, pp. 32ff., German Version, in: ZeitTheolKirch, LXVI, 1969, pp. 7-21,) proposes that "the resurrected Jesus is present in the word-event. In the framework of the legend, this is expressed by the fact that Jesus 'appears' on the scene while the two disciples are discussing the events in Jerusalem. This means: Jesus is present wherever there are people who raise questions about him, who contemplate and discuss his significance (Mat 18.20, 28.20, 1 Cor 14.24f.)... the mythological concepts intend to show that the resurrected Jesus is present in his word and by his word as a partner in a conversation." (p. 41) p.42: "The resurrected Jesus is present also in the act of a common meal. It is interesting that in the legend the meal is described as quite a normal evening meal, but beyond that it shows clear signs of an interpretation as the Lord's Supper. This means that the interpersonal event of a common meal is elevated to such an extent that it is thought of as the principle occasion where the resurrected Jesus becomes manifest as one who acts." Betz's interpretation of the Emmaus story is quite unique in pointing to the fact that, in both the word-event and in the meal, one has to deal with an interpersonal event, and his interpretation is entirely oriented by existential interpretation of the Scripture and belongs to a so-called "language-event theology". This becomes clearer when he says in the last part of his article: "The presence of Jesus manifests itself in two basic phenomena: in the new self-understanding of the Christians and in their existence as congregational group." (p. 46)

<sup>31</sup> cf. H. Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 157. On 24.26, he writes (p. 150) "Lk 24.26, 46 sind lukanisches Schema des Schriftbeweises (vgl. 17.3)" On 24.27, he writes (p. 84) "Tritt die Kirche mit dem Osterzeugnis vor die Welt, muss sie dessen Wahrheit begründen. Das geschieht 1) durch den Verweis auf die Augenzeugen: 1 Kor 15.3ff., Apg 1.22, 2.32, 3.15, 10.40f., 2) durch die Berufung auf das Zeugnis der Schrift. 1 Kor 15.4, Lk 24.29, Apg 2.30ff., 13.34ff."

from prophecy, which appears in the Empty Tomb story. P. Schubert's remarks<sup>32</sup> on this deserve consideration:

(a) Luke's proof-from-prophecy theology is the structural and material element that produces the literary and the theological unity and climax of the Gospel. On this point, the editorial devices which Luke employed are clearly discernible. This proof from prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea throughout the two volume work, and the editor of the Gospel had no difficulty or hesitancy in incorporating it into any materials he liked for the purpose.

(b) From this theological point of view, the stories of the empty tomb, or the Emmaus and the Jerusalem appearances (vv.36-43), because of their climactic significance were effective as a setting for his proof from prophecy theology. Luke's indifference to the "point" of the traditional story of the empty tomb, and his indirect admission that even appearances by themselves can be explained away, are in his view completely robbed of their force by the assurance that the attested events of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus as the Christ are guaranteed beyond doubt, by the long foretold and on-going prophecies which unfold in history the "will and plan" of God, (cf. Act 2.23, 4.28, 13.26, 20.27).

(c) The clearly noticeable, progressive change which begins with the statements of perplexity (v.4) and disbelief (v.11) and then progresses steadily from the remembering of the words of Jesus (v.8) to the rebuke of disbelief and the first explanation of scriptural prophecy (vv.25-27), to the burning of hearts (v.32), to the opening of minds to the understanding of the scriptures (vv.44-46) to the authorization (of the twelve) as witnesses to these fulfilled events, which they are to proclaim in Jesus' name to all nations (v.47f.), to the promise of power from

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<sup>32</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., pp. 173ff.



above (the Holy Spirit) (v.49), and to return to Jerusalem with joy where they continually praised God in the temple (vv.52-53), - these stages represent a literary climax of considerable effectiveness, resting upon and giving expression to Luke's dominant theological conviction.

(d) This theological conviction is presented in its three successive parts.

First: the angels at the empty tomb simply call to mind Jesus' own earlier words on the subject, but they also add in a brief formula the main items of Luke's version of the "Kerygma" - passion, crucifixion and resurrection (vv.5-8) (cf. 1 Cor 15.3-5).

Second:(vv.19-27): the primitive nature of the Emmaus story prevents the elaboration of the Lucan "Kerygma" beyond the death of Christ - this is furnished in the early chapters of Acts (2.32-34, 3.18-21, 5.31) - but it is extended into the past by including the mighty deeds and words "before God and all the people" (v.19 cf. Act 1.21-25, 2.22ff., 10.36-39).

Third (vv.44-49): 1) "all the scriptures" of v.27 are specified as Moses, all the prophets and the psalms; 2) the kerygma includes the proclamation, *κηρυχθῆναι*, of repentance and forgiveness of sins in his name (cf. Act 5.31, 11.31, 20.21); 3) it is to go to all nations (e.g., Act 2.5, 10.35, 11.1,18, 17.26, 18.6, 28.28); 4) the "apostles" are to be the witnesses of these things (e.g. Act 1.8,22, 2.32, 10.39-41, 22.15, 26.16); and 5) the coming of the Holy Spirit is promised (Act 1.2,5, 2.1-21, 19.2, 28.25).

#### 5) Legend of the meal at Emmaus:

Regarding the legend of the meal at Emmaus, where Jesus emerges in the likeness of the one who had once been among them but is now seen from a different perspective,

which reveals for the first time the true meaning of his life, readers could hardly fail to call to mind the church's Eucharist, where, in the breaking of bread, his passion is recalled and his continuing, yet hidden, life is celebrated.<sup>33</sup>

Therefore, in this legend, the meal is described as quite a normal evening meal; but beyond that it shows clear signs of an interpretation as the Lord's Supper. The important thing is that the eyes of the disciples, till now "blind", are "opened", and it is this "opening of the eyes", not the rite of breaking the bread, that enables them to recognize Jesus of Nazareth (v.35). One could say that the disciples realized that Jesus is a present reality in the act of eating a common meal. Therefore, it is noticeable that the interpersonal event of a common meal is elevated to such an extent that it is thought of as the principal occasion on which the resurrected Jesus becomes manifest as the one who acts in the early Christian community where this old Emmaus tradition circulated. According to this legend, as well as other New Testament texts, the Lord's Supper is the continuation of the saving events initiated by Jesus: Jesus has become identical with the salvation-event and is presented in the act of the common meal.<sup>34</sup> Easter faith believes that what the name Jesus stands for is present in the interpersonal event of true human fellowship.

Thus, it appears that in this tradition the Easter faith in the present reality of Jesus, is located within the framework of the Church's Eucharist, though it is

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<sup>33</sup> cf. J. Jeremias (Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu, Göttingen, 1960, ET: The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, London, 1960, pp. 119ff.) maintains that the meal might refer to the eucharistic meal. Similarly, H. Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, Tübingen, 1963, p. 31, W. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Lukas, Berlin, 1963, p. 477.

<sup>34</sup> cf. H. Braun, "Der Sinn der neutestamentlichen Christologie": in: Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, Tübingen, 1967, p. 282.



not possible to say that this is Luke's particular contribution to the theology of the resurrection. Luke's contribution is that he furnishes the Emmaus legend with the climax which was entitled above, the "proof from prophecy" (v.32: "They said to each other, 'Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us on the road, while he opened to us the scripture?'"). That is: by constructing the new structure, by adding another climax, sc. the "proof from prophecy" to the original climax, v.31, which might have been the ending of the Emmaus legend, as Luke found it, Luke intentionally robs the force of the original Emmaus legend and shifts the dominant theme from an Easter-Eucharist-theology to the "proof from prophecy theology". By doing so, Luke expresses his main theological concern with the Easter faith: the events of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus as the Christ are guaranteed beyond doubt, enough to make mens' hearts burn, by the long foretold fulfilment of still valid prophecies.

V.31b: the miraculous disappearance of Jesus might indicate that, in principle, Jesus is no longer present and accessible in the same way as he was on the road to Emmaus or even during his lifetime. From the standpoint of the legend of the original Emmaus story, the relationship of the Christian today to Jesus of Nazareth is entirely different from any relationship a disciple could have had with his master during the life time of Jesus. Table-fellowship is the new way in which the resurrected Jesus is present, according to the Emmaus legend, and now Luke implies that Jesus is present where there are people who reflect about him, who contemplate and discuss his significance in view of the proof from prophecy, the Scripture, the "will and plan" of God.

#### 6) The mediator of the meaning of the Scripture (vv.25-27, v.32, vv.44-48)

The interesting thing is that Luke seems to think of Jesus not only as the

fulfilment of the entire Scripture, but also as the mediator of its meaning as whole (vv.25-27: v.27b: "he interpreted to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." v.32: "Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us on the road, while he opened to us the Scriptures?" cf. v.7). The theme is continued in Lk 24.44-48. In the first phase of the discussion on the road to Emmaus, Jesus is the "partner" who raises questions. In the further course of the discussion, he becomes the one who "teaches" and "uncovers" ignorance and unbelief on the part of the disciples. It appears that after Pentecost, the Holy Spirit, by which the church is equipped for the missionary task, takes the place of Jesus as the mediator of Scripture. Luke may thus be indicating that Scripture belongs to the Church, for she is in possession of the correct interpretation.<sup>35</sup> At the stage of Lk 24, however, before ascension and Pentecost, Luke, in view of the way he has constructed Acts, is not ready to refer to the Holy Spirit. This may be the reason why the risen one appears as the mediator of Scripture. In this way Luke foreshadows the function of Scripture in the Church.

7) "Those who were with" (v.33)

An examination of the short phrase "those who were with" the eleven (v.33 cf. v.10 v.24a) may yield some insight into Luke's redactional views.

Here, Luke carefully uses the phrase because he already has in mind the idea which he develops in his account of the "election" of Matthias (Act 1.15-26). This account is of thematic importance throughout Acts. It establishes the significance of the twelve; Matthias is chosen, to fill the place of Judas Iscariot, "as one of the men who have been going with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up

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<sup>35</sup> cf. H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 207ff.



from us." Thus he could "become with us a witness to his resurrection" (Act 1.21f.).

As P. Schubert argues, however, the phrase could also be interpreted to mean that the Lucan phrases (24.9,10 and 33) are an expression of the author's judgement, based on the information which had come his way, that there were a great many appearances to individuals, to smaller, larger and mixed groups. "In this general respect Luke gives a total picture similar to Paul's in 1 Cor 15.5-7."<sup>36</sup> Since one can find evidence throughout Luke-Acts that the author's way of working and composing is to fit larger units of tradition as well as small fragments of information diligently collected directly into his account, and to make them subservient to his overall literary intentions and theological purposes, it is not impossible to conjecture that the phrase in question is one of these small fragments which could just imply such a list of appearances as P. Schubert suggests.<sup>37</sup>

#### E. The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49)

Various scenes follow in close succession. While they were teaching (late in the evening of the first day of the week and still in Jerusalem), Jesus appeared among them. They were startled and frightened, supposing that what they saw was a ghost. Jesus now asks why the disciples are so troubled. He shows them his hands and his feet and tells them to touch him, pointing out that a spirit has neither flesh nor bones. The reaction of the disciples is a twofold one. On the one

<sup>36</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 170.

<sup>37</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., pp. 170f.: "As an historian Luke no doubt modelled himself on the Old Testament (LXX) and, chiefly, on Greek historiography. As a theologian he in fact must be regarded as one of the most theologically minded among the New Testament authors." "... in his whole two-volume work he gives coherent and effective, even systematic and certainly conscious expression to a type of theology which was becoming increasingly popular in the Hellenistic Christian Churches of the late first century A.D. This type of thinking may be regarded as Biblical or Biblicistic...."

hand they are overjoyed, on the other they still do not believe and are astonished. For the second time, one might ask how this fits in with the belief attested in 24.34. Jesus now asks whether they have anything to eat. They give him broiled fish and he eats it in their presence. One is not told what the reaction of the disciples was, but they are now apparently convinced. The teaching of Jesus in vv.44-49 is, in certain respects, similar to that given already to the disciples on the road to Emmaus. It closes with a missionary charge: repentance and the forgiveness of sins is to be preached in the name of Christ among all peoples, beginning at Jerusalem. The disciples are to be witnesses and Jesus promises them the gift of power from on high. Until then they are to stay in Jerusalem.

1) The third appearance (vv.36-43)

The passage (vv.36-43) contains the third appearance in the Emmaus legend. It is significant that, in this story, the question of the nature and significance of the appearance itself is explicitly raised and answered. The doubt of the beholders that they saw a mere πνεῦμα, ( φάντασμα, D Mcion : v.37), is dispelled by Jesus' offering his hands and feet to their sight and touch, and then, to clinch the matter (vv.41-42), he eats a piece of broiled fish before their eyes. The parallels in John 20, 19-20, 27 and 21.5, 9-13 perhaps confirm the conclusion that Luke 24.36-43 is almost entirely a popular and late tradition.<sup>38</sup> The early Christians, as implied in this tradition found themselves having to confute the

<sup>38</sup>

cf. P. Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

It appears from Jn 20.19-23, that John knows Luke's Gospel, for the similarity to Lk 24.36-43 is too great to be accidental. Luke is, in fact, John's source here. This is to be emphasized in opposition to R. Bultmann, who overlooks Luke's role as a source for John, and attributes Jn 20.19-23, as well as the following pericope, to the running source which he postulates for John. Loisy (*L'Evangile selon Luc*, Paris, 1924) does not see John as here dependent on Luke, but rather as drawing on John. This position is dependent on his view that John is an earlier gospel than Luke, and hence was not known to the third evangelist, but as the anointing pericope once and for all demonstrates, this view of the



judgement that the appearances of Jesus were phantasmagorical. And there can be no doubt that Luke shared in appreciation of traditions which expressed "this massive historicizing and naturalistic theology".<sup>39</sup> Luke shows this clearly elsewhere, Act 10.39-41: "And we are witnesses to all that he did in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem... God raised him on the third day and made him manifest, not to all the people but to us who were chosen by God as witnesses, who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead." There is, at least, one unmistakable reference here (v.41a) to Luke 24.47-48, though the phrase "we ate and drank with him" could at best be regarded only as a loose inference from Lk 24.36-43 or from Lk 24.30.

The only appearance story in which a few of the disciples are reported as having eaten with the risen Lord can be found in John 21.1-14, while Luke 13.23-27 obviously a late pericope, half dialogue and half parable, contains the phrase, put into the mouth of some followers of Jesus, "We ate and drank in your presence, and you taught in our street." (13.26).

Nevertheless, the entire complex of data, which must, somehow, be related, hardly allows of a neat, clear-out and complete genetic or literary explanation.<sup>40</sup>

### 38 (Contd.)

chronology of the gospel<sup>3</sup> is not justified by the evidence of their contents. Grant (F.C. Grant, "Was the Author of John dependent upon the Gospel of Luke?" JournBibLit, LVI, 1937, p. 301) regards Lk 24.37, 39-43 as a gloss derived almost exclusively from Jn 20f., but this view, which lacks manuscript support, is surely less convincing than that which holds that the similarities are due to John's drawing on Luke. All one can say is that "either John knew another tradition strikingly parallel to Lk 24.36-46, or he was so impressed by the Lucan passage that he used it as the basis of not one but two parallel incidents in his gospel." (J.A. Bailey, op. cit., p. 95) P.A.V. Stempvoort ("Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts", NTStud, 5, 1958-59, pp. 30-90) draws attention to Luke's realistic interpretation (cf. Acts 1.9-11).

<sup>39</sup> cf. P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>40</sup> cf. P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 173.

As for the motifs of this appearance legend, one might draw attention to the motif of the missionary charge of the risen Lord, and the motif of the resurrection or, in other words, the apologetic motif.<sup>41</sup>

The account of the appearance itself (vv.36-43) is probably left essentially unchanged by Luke,<sup>42</sup> but quite without any transition Luke tacks onto it the words of the risen Lord with their proof from prophecy theology (vv.44-49). Thereby, Luke shows that the epoch which culminates in the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, whose meaning Scripture unfolds, must now give way to the epoch of the preaching of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. That point on the line of "sacred history", which is the time of the church, now been reached, and the apostles, armed with the authority of those alone who have encountered the risen Christ, are ready to receive the enabling power of the spirit sent from God on high to confirm them in their missionary work (Lk 24.49).

## 2) Missionary charge:

In Lk 24.36-49, much is reminiscent of the end of Matthew's missionary charge (though in Luke this is given in Jerusalem and in Matthew on the mountain in Galilee).<sup>43</sup> With these verses, however, Luke brings an entirely new line of thought into connection with the words about mission, that is, the early Christian mission is founded, not only on Jesus' command, but also on Old Testament prophecy.

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<sup>41</sup> cf. P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>42</sup> P. Schubert, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>43</sup> H. Conzelmann, op. cit., p. 221, on 24.49, Conzelmann says that "Das Wort Vater steht viel seltner in den Alten Quellen Q und Markus als in der spätesten Schicht, der Redaktion des Matthäus und Lukas," and on Lk 22.29 he says that "Wie mir mein Vater das Reich vermachte..." Es handelt sich um eine späte Bildung innerhalb der lukanischen Abendmahlsgespräche. Spät ist auch Lk 24.49, ein Wort des Auferstandenen."



F. Hahn<sup>44</sup> draws particular attention to the connection of Lk 24.47 with Mk 13.10. His view is that in v.44 Luke possibly adopts the *δεῖ* from Mark 13.10, ... *ὅτι δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως* (Lk 24.44), but gives it a different sense, because Luke uses the term freed from its apocalyptic setting and transfers it to the pattern of prophecy and fulfilment. The noun, *εὐαγγέλιον*, in Mk 13.10, which Luke often avoids, is dropped in this passage, too. Luke adopts *κηρυχθῆναι* .... *εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* in v.47 from Mark 13.10, but *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* is new. Concerning *μετάνοια* Hahn holds that the idea is given more weight in Luke than in Mark and Matthew.<sup>45</sup> Matthew uses it mainly when it is provided for him in the traditional material. Mark, however, has put it at the beginning of the preaching of John the Baptist, Jesus himself, and his disciples (cf. Mk 1.4, 1.15, 6.12). Luke relates the idea of *μετάνοια* (v.47) to Jesus' message, particularly to missionary preaching. Therefore, repentance is necessary for both the Jews and the Gentiles. Since with "in his (i.e. Jesus') name" Luke expresses the presence of Christ,<sup>46</sup> the idea fits into v.47. With the pericope, vv.47-49, Luke is already introducing the theme of Acts, for v.49 deals with staying in Jerusalem till the Holy Spirit is poured out; vv.47 and 48 show the idea of the mission going out from Jerusalem and the idea of *μάρτυρες*. Therefore, one might say that here, in 24.47ff., Luke expresses his view of the mission programmatically as is the case also in Mt 24.14.

<sup>44</sup> F. Hahn, Das Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament, Neukirchen, 1963, ET: Mission in the New Testament, London, 1965, pp. 130f.

<sup>45</sup> F. Hahn, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>46</sup> H. Conzelmann, op. cit., pp. 177f.

## F. The Ascension of the risen Jesus

Jesus leads the disciples out to Bethany. There he lifts up his hands and blesses them and then departs from them. Some manuscripts add the sentence, καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (v.51),<sup>47</sup> (e.g., P<sup>75</sup>, N, A). The disciples return to Jerusalem with great joy and are continually to be found in the temple praising God. Thus, in these passages, the ascension of Christ, his enthronement as the heavenly king, coalesces with his resurrection, both belong to Easter day. Luke, however, in the preface to the book of Acts, refers to the ascension, and places the ascension at "forty days" remove from the resurrection, and depicts it in terms of time and space as a separate event (Acts 1.3 and 9.12). The incongruity of Luke's two accounts of the ascension constituted a grave offence to the critics, who frequently succumbed to the harmonizing tendency of numerous ancient manuscripts by choosing to reject either Luke 24.50-53 in whole or in part, or Acts 1.1-11 in whole or in such parts as verse 3 and verses 9-11. However, with the shift that has taken place of late in Lucan studies, whereby Luke "the historian" has had to yield to Luke "the theologian

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47 As regards καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν : The criticism of this text is very difficult. One may assume that the old harmonizing tendency tended to omit these words, on the grounds that it was impossible to have two versions of the Ascension. P.A. Van Stempvoort argues that stylistically, the omission of these words disturbs the order of the sentences in Luke 24.50-53, referring to J. Jeremias (op. cit., pp. 74f.). Jeremias says that "In V.50 und V.52f. erfolgt die Schilderung in zweigliedrigen Sätzen, die gleiche Struktur ist auch für 51 zu erwarten." W. Michaelis (Die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen, Basel, 1944, p. 89) says that "ein zweigliedriger Satz in 24.51 wäre (anders als in 24.50 und 52f.) durchaus unproportioniert." P.A.V. Stempvoort, however, holds that "The shorter ascension of the text in my opinion is the result of misunderstanding, harmonizing tendencies and a lack of feeling for Luke's style." (P.A.V. Stempvoort, op. cit., p. 36.)



of sacred history", there has been an increasing readiness in some quarters to accept the integrity both of the longer text of Luke 24.50-53 and of Acts 1.1-11, and to seek a "theological" explanation for the apparent discrepancy in Luke's two reports of the Ascension.<sup>48</sup>

1) Luke 24.50-53:

In view of the systematic locating of the whole course of events in Jerusalem, and of the consistent omission of Bethany on the one hand, and of the function of the Mount of Olives on the other, which could represent "the" mountain in the passion, one could conclude that Luke 24.50-53 is not an original part of the Gospel. Luke's original account of the ascension seems rather to be in Acts 1, even if it is amplified by an interpolation.<sup>49</sup>

Whether the mention of the ascension derives from Luke or is a later addition is still a disputed and open question, but apart from this problem, it should be noticed that there are some specific theological motifs in this final passage which must not be overlooked.

The word *ἐξήρχεν* (v.50) is significant. As H. Conzelmann rightly points out, Luke emphasizes Christ's being *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ* in his theological geography of Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup> But, after the death and resurrection

<sup>48</sup> cf. H. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 47f.

<sup>49</sup> cf. H. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Against this: cf. P. Schubert, *op. cit.*, p. 169: "This last statement (vv.50-53) is the direct and explicit transition, in form and content, to the second volume. In it are gathered up favourite terms, phrases and ideas which occur through the whole work: *εὐλογεῖν* occurs fourteen times in the gospel (six times in the 'infancy stories' and four times in chapter 24) and twice, thematically in Act 3.25f., *χαρὰ* is characteristically used in the gospel (eight times) and in Acts (four times), *παρηρησία* in Acts (five times) is closely related to Luke's use of *χαρὰ*, for *διὰ παντός* see Act 3.25, 10.2 and many direct or paraphrastic synonyms. *τὸ ἱερόν* is strikingly prominent throughout the two volumes."

<sup>50</sup> cf. H. Conzelmann, *op. cit.*

of Christ, Luke emphasizes: "He led them out," (v.47). However, the "beginning" is still in the "temple" and the "town" (v.52), "and they were continually in the temple blessing God," (v.53).

So, one could say that, in Luke 24.50-53, he is in the region of the temple.<sup>51</sup> It has been maintained by some interpreters that the blessing of the departing Christ is the blessing of a priest. Considering this allusion more attentively, P. Stempvoort makes it clear that the elliptical usage, "lifting up his hands", is the "terminus technicus" for the blessing by the priests.<sup>52</sup>

The expression, *εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς . καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν* , might be enough to imply that the writer is using the image of a priest blessing. Furthermore, P. Stempvoort indicates that the eulogia of Christ corresponds to the eulogia of the ecclesia parva. If that is so, one could say that this is a detailed reference to the "region of the temple".

As to the literary background of this description of the last Christophany, Sir 50 provides a parallel.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> e.g., A. Schlatter, Das Evangelium Lukas, Stuttgart, 1931, "Im Tempel beginnt die Geschichte, die der Evangelist erzählt .... Dem entspricht der letzte Satz des Evangeliums, nach dem die Jünger im Tempel auf das Wirken des Christus im Geist warten..." cf. D. Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, London, 1956, p. 234: "Its (the priestly blessing) introduction here may have something to do with the fact that Luke, at the close of the Gospel, takes his readers back to the Temple where his story began. He may wish to indicate that, for the believers, the service from now on had a new meaning."

<sup>52</sup> P.A.V. Stempvoort, op. cit., p. 34. Similarly, STB II, p. 64, A. Schlatter, op. cit., p. 459, and D. Daube, op. cit., p. 231.

<sup>53</sup> cf. H.W. Beyer, ThW, II, p. 756, n. 11: "die innere Beziehung von Segen des Priesters und Hymnus der Gemeinde, wie sie auch sehr schön in Sir 50:22 zum Ausdruck kommt..."

cf. J. Hempel, Die althebräische Literatur und ihr Hellenistisch-Jüdisches Nachleben, Potsdam, 1930, pp. 32f.



- Sir 50.20: τότε καταβὰς ἐπῆρεν χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν  
 υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ δοῦναι εὐλογίαν κυρίου ἐκ χειλέων αὐτοῦ.
- 21: καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καυχέσασθαι καὶ ἐδευτέρωσαν·  
 ἐν προσκυνήσει ἐπιδέξασθαι τὴν εὐλογίαν παρὰ ὑψίστου.
- 22: τὸν μέγαρα ποιοῦντα πάντῃ τὸν ὑψοῦντα ἡμέρας ἡμῶν  
 ἐκ μήτρης καὶ ποιοῦντα μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.

The image, which one finds in Sir 50: the full image of a blessing priest and a responding congregation, is restored to Luke 24 through the words *προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν*. The *εὐφροσύνη* of Sir 50 finds correspondence in the *χαρὰ μεγάλη* (v.52).<sup>54</sup>

Besides the relation of Luke 24.50-53 and Sir 50.20-22, whereby the intention of this concluding passage can be clarified, it should also be noticed that *εὐλογεῖν* is used at the beginning and end of the Gospel: 1.42, 62, 2.28, 34 and 24.30, 50, 51, 53. In the first chapters obviously one is "in the region of the temple." Thus, one could say that the Gospel is finished with the same image with which it began. At the end, however, there is a priest really blessing, a finished *Leitourgia*.

Thus, one could say that in the last chapter of the Gospel, the writer, whoever he is, gives a version of his theology of the ascension. With the tools of the Old Testament and the forms of the "old biblical tradition",<sup>55</sup> the editor moulds the last Christophany into the splendid vision of Christ as a "blessing priest". To

<sup>54</sup> P.A.V. Stempvoort, *op. cit.*, p. 35: "The conclusion of Luke's Gospel is one of his most beautiful 'Septuagintisms'." The verdict of R. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 286: "Similarly Lk 24.50-53 Jesus' farewell is also a literary creation, which Luke may have had on hand. The Ascension was not yet recounted as a legend by the Synoptics."

<sup>55</sup> E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Gütersloh, 1948, p. 5.

use Stauffer's expression, the editor gives at the end of his Gospel a "doxological" interpretation of the ascension.<sup>56</sup>

2) Acts 1.9-11:

As to the problem of the genuineness of Acts 1.9-11, together with Acts 1.1-8, 12-28, there is no definite answer.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> E. Stauffer, op. cit., pp. 117f. Stauffer distinguishes doxological, antagonistical and soteriological forms of interpretation. See also P.A.V. Stempvoort, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>57</sup> About Literary-criticism on Acts 1.2-12: (i) Those who understand the passages as later editorial addition: E. Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, Bd. I, Stuttgart, 1920, pp. 34f. E. Norden, Agnostos Theos, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 312f. M. Goguel, Introduction au NT, Paris, 1922-26, pp. 186f. E. Hirsch, Die Auferstehungsgeschichten und der christliche Glaube, Tübingen, 1939, p. 4f. W.G. Kümmel, "Das Urchristentum", TheolRund, 17, 1948-1949, pp. 9ff. H.W. Beyer, Die Apostelgeschichte, p. 10, O. Bauernfeind, Die Apostelgeschichte, Göttingen, 1959, pp. 17-24. (ii) Those who oppose (i): F.J. Jackson-K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, 5 vols., London, 1920-1933, II. pp. 135f. V. pp. 1-7. M. Dibelius, Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte, Göttingen, 1951, p. 165. (iii) Those who maintain the genuineness of the text: A. Loisy, Les Acts des Apôtres, Paris, 1920, p. 143-145.

P. Victor Larrañaga (L'Ascension de Notre Seigneur dans le N.T., Roma-Paris, 1938) tries to harmonize Luke 24.50-53 and Acts 1. cf. M.S. Englin, "The Ascension Story", JournBibLit, 1928, pp. 60-73. H. Sahlin (Der Messias und das Gottesvolk, Uppsala, 1945, pp. 1-62 (esp. p. 11-p. 18)) suggests that the original text of the Gospel of Luke and Acts was not separated, and it was only when the Canon of the New Testament was established that the text was divided into two books. The ending of Luke (Lk 24.50-53) and the beginning of Acts (Acts 1.1-5) were the results of the editorial manipulation at that time. This hypothesis is supported by Ph-H Menoud, "Remarques sur les textes de l'Ascension dans Luc-Acts, in: Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann, Berlin, 1954, p. 148-p.156: According to his understanding, Luke 24.49 followed on from Acts 1.6 originally, for the following reasons: (i) Luke 24.50-53-Acts 1.1-5 contain some elements which conflict with Lucan style: e.g. ἐπάρας τῆς χειρὸς, is used only once in New Testament (1 Tim 2.8) in connection with prayer. τεκμήριον, ὁπτανόμεναι, συναλίσσω appear only once in the New Testament. οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ... ἡμέρας occurs Acts 1.5, but in Luke 1.5 - μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας (ii) Acts 1.4 is direct narration. Acts 1.5 is indirect narration. (iii) The contents of Luke 24.50-53 are a summary of Acts 1.9-11, 2.46-47. This hypothesis is supported by E. Trocmé, Le 'Livre des Actes' et l'histoire, Paris, 1957.



Leaving this problem open, however, what is important is whether there is a conflict between the two ascension interpretations.

The ascension text of Acts 1 begins in v.9. Here one has a very realistic interpretation of the ascension, ἐπήρθη, βλέπόντων αὐτῶν, ὑπέλαβεν (cf. Lk 24.36f.).

P.A.V. Stempvoort indicates that the verb, ὑπολαμβάνω is to be translated "to take up (and carry away)" as Liddell and Scott<sup>58</sup> suggests. If one follows Stempvoort's translation, the meaning of the verse might be: "a cloud took him up by getting under him (and so took him) out of their sight". And, therefore, the cloud is not a cloud hiding a mystery but a cloud which, like a charriot, carries Jesus to heaven. There are possible connections here with Genesis 5.24 and II Kings 2.9-12, where the cloud is missing, with Moses and the cloud Exodus 19.9, Psalms 99.7 and other texts, and perhaps with the transfiguration (Lk 9.28ff.). Besides these, the image of the cloud as the means of supernatural abduction in Hellenistic culture could also be considered as the background of the verse.<sup>59</sup> But what is most important here is "the author's own theology based on the pattern of the old biblical tradition in the widest sense",<sup>60</sup> that is, the Christian-Jewish formation of religious images, rather than the image of the cloud as a "Myth".<sup>61</sup> Luke uses images for writing history and takes an image from the background of the Christian-Jewish formation of religious images.

<sup>58</sup> H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, 1939, Vol. I, p. 1886.

<sup>59</sup> cf. ThW, IV. pp. 906f.

<sup>60</sup> P.A.V. Stempvoort, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>61</sup> P.A.V. Stempvoort says (op. cit., p. 38) that "Luke gives something quite different from the literary form of a myth. As Grotius rightly said: 'Elias in coelum vectus in turbine (2 Reg 2. I. II) - Christus in nube placida'."

The same sort of "realism" is also to be observed in the word ἀτερίζω (v.10), of which the meaning is to "look intently", to "gaze", to "stare". The tense and diction of the sentence, the periphrastic imperfect and the participium praesens of πορ-, may underline the movement of the going away of Christ. It is, however, useless to search for a "source" of these sentences. The editor moulds the last Christophany in his own way, unafraid of standing in a literary tradition and of using that tradition for his own literary purposes. The purpose of his interpretation is well expressed also by the "men dressed in white" (v.11). Here the irrevocability of the separation is stressed, and the future return of the Lord, in the same mode as he departed, means for the present Church, their returning to Jerusalem to do what he had commanded (v.12, cf. v.8).

It, therefore, appears that the second interpretation of the ascension is totally different from the first, the doxological one. One might refer to it, like Stempvoort as "the ecclesiastical and historical interpretation, with the accent on the work of the spirit in the church."<sup>62</sup> Thus, making the transition from the epoch of Jesus, which reaches its climax in his death and resurrection,

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<sup>62</sup> cf. P.A.V. Stempvoort, *op. cit.*, p. 38. H. Conzelmann (*op. cit.*, p. 204) points out the twofold meaning of the ascension in Luke: (i) The ascension as the act of exaltation, from which time Jesus is at the right hand of God, and his appearances now are from heaven. (ii) The ascension as a parallel to the parousia. Thus, it has its place in the sequence of redemption history as the penultimate stage in Jesus' course. The parousia is still to come. In the meantime the Church lives on earth, waiting and suffering - but in possession of the spirit. Therefore, in this sense, for Luke the story of the ascension is the introduction to his second volume. (cf. A.M. Ramsey, *The Resurrection of Christ*, London, 1946, p. 79: "For Luke, history and theology are one, and if he shows us less than does Mark of the resurrection as a suprahistorical coming of the day of the Lord, he draws out instead the important truth that in the resurrection one epoch of history, human and divine, reaches its climax and another epoch has its beginning.")



to the new epoch of the Church, by his "realistic" or "historical" interpretation of the ascension, the editor of the book claims that the Church must live now, not out of the continuous presence of Jesus, but out of the energizing presence of the spirit sent from God in heaven.<sup>63</sup> "Just as the Ascension marks the close of the history of Jesus and the inauguration of the new era of the Church and the Spirit, so also, as token and pledge of the Parousia (v.11), does it point the church forward to the triumphant consummation of her history."<sup>64</sup>

Therefore, one might draw the following conclusion: The first interpretation is a doxology in the refined style of worship, the second shows Luke's "modern approach,"<sup>65</sup> historical interpretation, leading into the future, and so also into the history of the Church. Thereby the account answers the question of the community: Why did the Christophanies end? Why did the end not come? Why hold fast to Jerusalem where the prophets were killed? These questions the editor answers with the help of the old tradition about Christophanies.

### 6.3 Summary

#### A. Empty tomb story (Lk 24.1-11)

- 1) Luke noticeably diminishes the interest in the empty tomb as providing by itself direct or even inferential evidence for the fact of Jesus' resurrection.
- 2) Luke transforms the account about "Galilee" into a reminiscence of Galilee; the angels refer to a prophecy, made by Jesus while he was still in Galilee, regarding what would occur in Jerusalem, his passion and resurrection there (Lk 24.26). Here, one encounters one of Luke's special themes: Jerusalem must be the centre for

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<sup>63</sup> H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>64</sup> H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>65</sup> P.A.V. Stempvoort, op. cit., p. 42.

the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation and the base for the mission to the Gentiles.

3) In the passage, vv.6(b)-10, the so called "fulfilment of prophecy" or "the proof from prophecy" motif, in its particularly Lucan form, is prominent.

#### \* B. Lk 24.12:

This verse is most probably an interpolation on the basis of John's account. A scribe who thought that the reference to the disciples' having gone to the tomb in Lk 24.24 required mention of the event, when it occurred, used for this purpose a synopsis constructed from memory of an incident from John, or it may be that Jn 20,3-10 and Lk 24.12 are both making excerpts from a common source.

#### C. Emmaus story (Lk 24.13-35)

1) The intention of the story is not to bring bare historical facts to one's knowledge in an objective way, but it has entirely to do with the Easter faith and its theological implications.

2) V.14, v.15a, vv.17-27, v.32, v.35a: These verses belong to Luke's editorial work. The tradition history of the passage, vv.19-27, however, is rather complicated. The idea of Jesus as the eschatological prophet like Moses possibly reaches back to the early Palestinian stratum of the New Testament tradition. Concerning the question, however, how far Luke preserves in the passage the original material, complete certainty is not possible. All one can say is that Luke here preserves very early material, which conveys the idea of the eschatological prophet, and that he reconstructs the story according to his theologoumenon, concerning the true, scriptural interpretation of Jesus as the suffering Christ, sc. the proof from prophecy theology.

3) The appearance to Peter (v.34): This verse did not originally belong to



the Emmaus story, but was inserted later. However, whether it was inserted by Luke or by an earlier hand is not clear.

4) V.17-27, v.32 and v.35a, belong to the motif of the proof from prophecy.

(i) This proof from prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea and the structural and material element that produces the literary and theological unity and climax of the Gospel.

(ii) The stories of the empty tomb, of the Emmaus and the Jerusalem appearances, because of their climactic significance, are effective as a setting for the proof from prophecy theology.

Luke's contribution to the Emmaus legend is typically exemplified in the redactional addition, v.32. Here, he furnishes the Emmaus legend with a climax which conveys the proof from prophecy theology. Thereby, Luke deliberately shifted the dominant theme of the story from an Easter eucharist theology, which was the theme of the original form of the tradition, into the proof from prophecy theology.

5) The mediator of the meaning of the Scripture (vv.25-27, v.32, vv.44-48):

After Pentecost, the Holy Spirit takes the place of Jesus as the mediator of Scripture. By making this transposition, Luke may be indicating that Scripture belongs to the Church, for she is in possession of the correct interpretation. At the stage of Lk 24, before ascension and Pentecost, Luke, in view of the construction of Luke-Acts, is not ready to refer to the Holy Spirit.

6) "Those who were with" (v.33):

There are two different interpretations of this phrase:

(i) Luke carefully uses the phrase because he already has in mind the idea which he develops in his account of the "election" of Matthias (Acts 1.25-26).

(ii) The phrase could be a pointer to the author's judgement, based on the information which had come his way, that there were a great many appearances to individuals, to smaller, larger and mixed groups. And, in view of the author's way of working and composing, it is not impossible to conjecture that the phrase in question is one of these small fragments which might just imply such a list of appearances.

D. The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49)

1) The third appearance (vv.36-43)

This pericope is almost entirely a popular and late tradition. The early Christian, as implied in this tradition, found himself having to confute the judgement that the appearances of Jesus were phantasmagorical.

The account is left essentially unchanged by Luke; however, Luke tacks on to it the words of the risen Lord which again contain the proof from prophecy theology (vv.44-49).

2) This pericope is reminiscent of Matthew's missionary charge. However, Luke brings an entirely new line of thought into connection with the words about mission: mission is founded not only on Jesus' command, but also on Old Testament prophecy.

E. The Ascension of the risen Jesus (Lk 24,50-53)

1) Luke 24.50-53:

This pericope is not an original part of the Gospel. Luke's original account of the ascension seems rather to be in Acts 1.9-11.

(i) The pericope is connected to the region of the temple.

(ii) Sir 50 belongs to the literary background of this pericope.



(iii) The writer of this pericope gives a version of his theology of the ascension making use of the Old Testament (LXX) and its literary forms. The writer offers here a doxological interpretation of the ascension.

## 2) Acts 1.9-11:

This may be termed the ecclesiastical and historical interpretation, with the accent on the work of the spirit in the Church.

The first interpretation (Lk 24.50-53) is a doxology in the refined style of worship, the second shows Luke's historical interpretation leading into the future, and so also into the history of the church.

## A brief look at the fourth Gospel

Although this study is limited to the investigation of the Easter texts of the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15, perhaps it is appropriate to refer, at this point, that is at the close of our examination of Luke, to the Easter texts of the fourth evangelist as a small appendix, for his interests are, while similar, nonetheless distinctive. It is the distinctive contribution of the evangelist to the Easter tradition that he concentrates on an interpretation of the ascension.

John 20.19-23 provides a clue to the peculiar theme of the evangelist. The account is both similar and dissimilar to the parallel in Luke (Lk 24.36ff.). Both John and Luke note the following points: (1) A band of disciples (most probably the apostolic band without Thomas) gathered on the first day of the week. (2) The risen Jesus stresses the reality of his body as the proof of his identity (Jn 20.20, Lk 24.39ff. The mention of the pierced side in John may refer to the passage, Jn 19.34, which has a symbolic aspect.). (3) A commissioning of the disciples (Jn 20.21, Lk 24.47f. The passage, "as the Father has sent me, even so I send you", shows the Johannine formulation.). (4) The bestowal of the power to forgive sins

is referred to in both Gospels (Jn 20.23, Lk 24.47).

Yet, in spite of these common features, the fourth Gospel differs markedly from Luke, for in John the risen Jesus inaugurates the new creation by himself breathing on the disciples the Holy Spirit (Jn 20.22-23), which recalls the breathing of life into man by God at the creation (Gn 2.7). Luke, on the other hand, before he mentions the pouring out of the spirit, viz. Pentecost, places the "ascension" as an event, which closes a period of forty days of appearances. The ascension is then followed by Pentecost. Thus, there is in the fourth gospel a version parallel with Luke's account of the origin of the spirit in the Church, in which it is evident that there is no place for the ascension nor Pentecost in Luke's sense.

The problem becomes clearer, if one views Jn 20.22-23 in the light of Jn 7.39b, "As yet the Spirit had not been given, because Jesus was not glorified", for the passage explains that for the fourth evangelist the exaltation, viz. the ascension, is identical with the pouring out of the spirit. In the fourth evangelist's mind, there is no clear distinction nor any chronological distance between the pouring out of the spirit and the ascension of the risen Jesus as there is in Luke's account.

A brief examination of the verse, 20.17b, may elucidate the problem more extensively. The passage, v.17, resembles the synoptic tradition, in so far as a crucial message is to be conveyed by a woman to the disciples; however, this is altogether different in content and is closely related to the evangelist's interpretation of the Easter event and contains a motif which is discernible throughout the Gospel. Whereas Mark (and Matthew) mentions that the risen Jesus goes before them into Galilee (Mk 16.8, Mt 28.7) and Luke alters this to a reminder of what Jesus had said in Galilee about the necessary crucifixion and resurrection of the Son of man (Lk 24.6ff.) particularly according to his motif, sc. "fulfilment of prophecy"



or "the proof from prophecy" motif, which is prominent in his two books, the fourth evangelist mentions that the risen Jesus is "ascending" to their common father and God. "Do not hold me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father but go to my brethren and say to them, I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." (Jn 20.17). With the term *ἀναβαίνειν* (cf. Jn 3.13, 6.62), the theme of "exaltation" to the father becomes an emphatic ingredient of the evangelist's interpretation of the resurrection.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, it is noted that the evangelist understands the resurrection in terms of the exaltation, sc. the ascension, which is identical with the pouring out of the spirit. Professor Hugh Anderson takes up this point clearly in his article, "The Easter Witness of the Evangelists".<sup>67</sup> According to H. Anderson, for the evangelist the way of Jesus is from the first the way to the father, a way that has to be travelled through suffering and death towards "that day" when he will have reached his heavenly glory by the father's side, and the father will be able to bestow his power and blessing on men (cf. Jn 14.26, 20.19). Therefore, in this sense, the redactional passage, v.17, in which the evangelist proclaims that the risen Jesus is ascending, is the climax and the fulfilment of the whole Gospel.

<sup>66</sup> cf. C.F. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 117. R. Bultmann argues that in the fourth Gospel the resurrection, the ascension, the pouring out of the spirit and the parousia, too, are all identical. cf. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen, 1954, p. 404: "Das bedeutet aber: Auferstehung und Parusie Jesu sind für Johannes identisch. Wenn nun ferner mit diesen Verheissungen die Verheissung des Geistes (des Parakleten) parallel geht (14,15 bis 17), also die Pfingstverheissung, so sind für Johannes Ostern, Pfingsten und die Parusie nicht drei verschiedene Ereignisse, sondern ein und dasselbe. So geht ja die Oster- und die Parusie-Terminologie ständig durcheinander: vom Wiedersehen redet, 14, 19; 16.16, 19.22, davon, dass er lebt 14,9, von seiner Erscheinung vor den Jüngern 14,21f.; andererseits reden von seinem Kommen 14,3. 18. 23. 28, und das für die eschatologische Erwartung so charakteristische *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* findet sich 14,20; 16,23.26, das *ἔρχεται ὥρα* 16.25. Und dazwischen schiebt sich die Verheissung des Geistes 14, 15-17. 26: 16,7-11. 13-15."

<sup>67</sup> H. Anderson, "The Easter Witness of the Evangelists", in: *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, ed., H. Anderson, and W. Barclay,

Concerning the word *ἄπτον* in Jn 20.17, H. Anderson remarks<sup>68</sup> that the word is familiarly used in the healing miracles in the Synoptics in reference to sick people laying hold of Jesus for the healing that is accompanied by the forgiveness of sins, for salvation. Since Jesus is not yet ascended to the father in 20.17, it may well be declared that no grasping of his earthly appearance can by itself bring salvation. In the evangelist's mind, saving faith is born only out of the one indivisible ministry of Jesus, out of the entire message of his life, death, and the exaltation to the father.<sup>69</sup>

Following W. Grundmann's analysis,<sup>70</sup> C.F. Evans maintains<sup>71</sup> that, since in verse 17 alone in the fourth Gospel the disciples to whom the message is to be delivered are called by Jesus "his brethren", and also God is called his and their father and his and their God, the verse explicates the dominant theme of the whole Gospel. In the prologue of the Gospel one can see a distinction between those who did not receive him and those who did receive him. This distinction divides the Gospel into two parts, chapters 2-12 and chapters 13-20. The first part is concerned with rejection by the Jews (cf. 3.3, 5.37f., 8.19ff.), but the second part is concerned with Jesus and those who are really his own, whose mutual relationship is parallel to that between the father and the son (cf. 14.1-4, 12, 20-28, 16.5-23, 28). A subject of the high and priestly prayer is also that those who belong to the God who is addressed throughout as father may be with Jesus where he is. Therefore, in this sense, too, it is noted that the message of 20.17b is the fulfilment of the whole Gospel of divine sonship in the son through Christ's "exaltation" to the father.

<sup>68</sup> H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, London, 1964, p. 234.

<sup>69</sup> cf. H. Anderson, "The Easter Witness of the Evangelists", in: The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective, ed., H. Anderson and W. Barclay, London, 1965, pp. 52f.

<sup>70</sup> W. Grundmann, "Zur Rede vom Vater im Johannes-Evangelium", ZeitNTWiss., 1961, pp.213ff.

<sup>71</sup> C.F. Evans, op. cit., pp. 123ff.



Concerning the problem of the fourth evangelist's redactional contribution to the Easter tradition, one should also reckon with the question of "seeing" and "believing"<sup>72</sup> in the Thomas story, for here another redactional contribution of the evangelist to the Easter tradition seems to be evident. If one views, the correlation between "seeing" and "believing" in the Thomas story in the light of the passages, Jn 2.23, 4.47ff. 7.5, 9.8-9. one may assume that in John "seeing" in an objective sense is to be accompanied by faith experience. It is the spirit which enlightens men about the truth disclosed in happenings, sc. history. But the flesh cannot be discounted, for "the Word became flesh" (Jn 1.14). The risen Jesus invites Thomas to touch him and to be believing. And Thomas, who is not accused of being faithless because he has seen, answers, without "touching Jesus", with his and, one might add, the evangelist's confession of faith: "My Lord and my God" (Jn 20.27-28, cf. 1.1). The evangelist by placing this story at the very end of his Gospel seems to declare that, since future generations will be unable to participate in this kind of "seeing" or "touching", they must rely solely on the action of the Holy Spirit to bring God's revelation in Jesus to them (Jn 20.29). "Yet they too will have before them the tradition and the witness of Easter, reported by John as by the other Evangelists, to remind them of that history of Jesus of Nazareth, whose meaning is perceived through the operation of the Spirit."<sup>73</sup>

### Summary

The redactional contributions of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition are evident particularly in two points as follows:

- 1) In view of the passages, e.g. Jn 20.22-23, 7.39b and 20.17b, it is noted

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<sup>72</sup> cf. H. Wenz, "Sehen und Glauben bei Johannes", TheolZeit, 17, pp. 17ff. H. Anderson, Jesus and Christian Origins, London, 1964, pp. 236f.

<sup>73</sup> H. Anderson, op. cit., p. 217.

that the fourth evangelist interprets the resurrection in terms of the exaltation, sc. the ascension, which is identical with the pouring out of the spirit. In the evangelist's mind, there is no distinction nor any chronological distance between the pouring out of the spirit and the ascension of the risen Jesus. As is noted, the theme of the exaltation is the central theological idea of the evangelist, which is consistently emphasized throughout the Gospel. And in the redactional phrase, Jn 20.17, where he proclaims that the risen Jesus is ascending, the theme is emphatically accentuated. Thus, the passage is the climax and fulfilment of the whole Gospel, for it is here that his interpretation of the resurrection of Jesus is explicated in the most prominent way.

2) Another redactional contribution of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition is evident in the parallelism between "seeing" and "believing" in the Thomas story. Here, the evangelist gives important instructions for future generations which will be unable to participate in "seeing" or "touching". He means that they will have to rely solely on the action of the Holy Spirit, to believe in God's revelation and saving event.



## Chapter 7 Conclusion

### 7.1 Summary

In this thesis we have tried to analyse the Easter traditions with particular reference to the Synoptic Gospels and 1 Corinthians 15, adopting mainly the method of tradition-history, although it must be said that the analysis of the tradition has not been as detailed as it could be. Yet, it is possible that some light may have been shed on the question of the Easter traditions and their theology. One might draw the following conclusions:

#### A. 1 Corinthians 15

- 1) The ideas and expressions in 1 Corinthians 15.3ff. show a continuity with Palestinian outlook in view of textual criticism, form-critical study and tradition-history.
- 2) These traditions circulated in the Palestinian community, but were not yet fixed in a confessional formula.
- 3) Probably the tradition became fixed in a formula, together with its interpretative expansion, within Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity.
- 4) Paul received the formula as the determinate tradition of Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity.
- 5) The formula, however, is totally oriented by Paul towards his opponents at Corinth, arguably Proto-Gnostics who relinquished the preaching of the theologia viatorum and the theologia crucis and surrendered to the conviction: "If Christ is risen, so are also his people."
- 6) Paul, adopting the formula and in basic agreement with the apocalyptic idea of the formula, instructed the Corinthians that the event which is revealed in the

cross and the Easter experiences points back to the promise of God and forward to an eschaton in which his divinity will be revealed as "all in all", and in which one can participate by hope only. The event is, therefore, for Paul an eschatological event which has its goal in future revelation and universal fulfilment. It points beyond itself, and even beyond Jesus, to the coming revelation of the glory of God. What happened to Jesus is understood by Paul as the dawn and assured promise of the coming glory of God over all, as a victory of life from God over death. Therefore, the dialectic between cross and resurrection is an open dialectic, which will find its resolution and synthesis only in the eschaton.

7) Paul's theology of resurrection runs along two lines: the dogmatic and the empirical. The dogmatic line is determined by and oriented towards Paul's understanding of eschatology. 1 Cor 15 belongs to this line, together with other books (1 Thessalonians, Philippians).

The second line of Paul's thought on resurrection is empirical and experiential and is closely connected with the life of the spirit.

These two lines of thought on resurrection are not brought into systematic relationship, but rather they overlap at times.

It is evident that resurrection is for Paul both what he already experiences in conjunction with and in Christ's suffering and death, and also that which he hopes to attain. However, since Paul's epistles are ad hoc letters, what Paul says in them arises from the several different situations to which they are addressed.

#### B. Mark 16.1-8

In view of the tradition-history, one might conclude that Mk 16.1-8 is the oldest tradition (together with Lk 24.12) amongst the empty tomb stories in the Gospels.



Concerning the pre-Markan stage of this tradition, one might say, that the empty tomb tradition constituted originally the end of the Passion narrative, and that the Sitz im Leben of this tradition was most probably the cult of the early Christian community.

Regarding the significance of the empty tomb tradition, one might conclude that, although in the later developed stage of the tradition, e.g. The Gospel of Peter, The Gospel according to the Hebrews, one can find confession of the empty tomb itself, in its earlier stage, this tradition had significance neither as an awakening of the Easter faith, nor as recorded information of the actual course of the event.

In its earliest stage (the pre-Markan stage), the empty tomb tradition shows two of the interests of early Christian preaching: the apologetic interest over against contemporary Judaism and the theological interest in emphasizing the empty tomb as a sign which implies the reality of the resurrection of Jesus.

The evangelist also appreciated and interpreted the tradition of the empty tomb mainly as a sign, therefore, one could say, that generally, the account of the empty tomb has an indirect kerygmatic function in the Gospels.

One must admit also, however, that the tradition (together with the tradition of the appearance) is drastically determined and coloured by each evangelist's theological view point. The Easter narratives give a typical example of the process of the transmission and interpretation of the tradition (tradition-history) in New Testament times.

In Mark, the problem of the ending of the Gospel is crucial for the interpretation of the Easter text. However, the solution of this problem depends much on the question of what was Mark's intention (Redaktionsgeschichte), rather than on

the history of the pre-Markan text.

Employing the method of Redaktionsgeschichte, Marxsen refers to Mk 14.28 and Mk 16.7 as being connected with the importance which the Christian community had at the time when Mark's Gospel was written. According to Marxsen's understanding of Mark, Mark expected the parousia to be at hand. For Mark, the era of the resurrection, the rule of the risen one, has begun and will be concluded by the approaching parousia. This era, however, is no continuous progression of time in Mark. Instead, by his editorial work, it has become reduced essentially to a tradition between resurrection and parousia. This is the basic premise of Marxsen's interpretation of the Easter narrative in Mark. Apart from this hypothesis, however, but continuing to use Redaktionsgeschichte as a method, one observes that the problem of the interpretation of the Marcan Easter texts depends largely on the question of the motif of amazement and fear, in view of Mk 16.8.

As a result of form-critical study of the motif of amazement and fear, one notes, that in Hellenistic folklore, it is already popular to place this motif at the conclusion of miracle stories. Amongst the evangelists, however, Mark is the first to have adopted the motif in his miracle stories of Jesus, using it on a large scale and using a generalising third person plural, which indicates that the motif is Mark's own estimate of Jesus' miracles. The motif occurs so frequently in Mark, that it becomes virtually a formula. But, if it is or becomes a formula, it expresses a theological estimate. For Matthew, it is a mere formula or stereotype and does not express a peculiar Matthean idea. In Luke, historicization and psychologization of the motif are obvious: however, Luke introduces the further motif of praising God and uses this latter as a fixed form of expression.

Particular usage of the motif in Mark is observed in these passages: Mk 1.22, 27, 6.2, 9.15, 10.24, 26, 10.32, 11.18, 12.17, 16.18, where one notes that, by



employing the motif, Mark points to the activity, viz. the teaching and the miracles, of Jesus and above all the being of Jesus itself as amazing. This motif is firmly bound up with the Marcan view of the being of Jesus, which is actually the main concern of the redactor. However, Mark, emphasizing the amazing character of the being of Jesus by the motif of amazement and fear consistently, has recourse to the same motif again and typically at the close (16.8). In this sense, one must say that the passage, 16.8, is an adequate conclusion of the Gospel of Mark and at the same time that this passage shows the peculiar character of the Marcan Easter narrative.

The literary form of Mk 16.1-8 is more or less similar to the other miracle stories in Mark. However, the account carries not only the theological connotations of the empty tomb tradition in its pre-Markan stage, but also some peculiar Marcan theological ideas on the resurrection and the being of Jesus, for the tradition has the characteristic conclusion of the evangelist, i.e. the motif of amazement and fear, which implies the identity of the reality of the being of Jesus with the risen one.

One may, therefore, draw the conclusion that this Marcan view of Jesus, implied consistently in all parts of the Gospel, is in fact pre-determined by the Easter faith, which is intensively expressed in 16.8, and conversely that every passage which implies the Marcan view of the being of Jesus points to the climax in the Gospel, viz. the last passage, 16.8.

#### C. Matthew 28.1-20

##### A) The account of the Empty Tomb (28.1-15):

Matthew's text of the empty tomb and of the subterfuge of the Jewish elders in enticing the guard to spread the rumour shows a development of the tradition to meet the needs of Christian apologetic. In view of Redaktionsgeschichte there are

three points to note:

(a) Matthew strikes out the account of the anointing of the body on the third day, probably because the process of decay would have already begun in Palestine.

(b) Matthew's account, strongly influenced by Old Testament language, shows the author's intention, i.e. the empty tomb has become the truly wonderful work through which the God of Israel and the God of Jesus has completed his great divine plan.

(c) Matthew links the story of the empty tomb with what has gone before and with what follows, forming a continuous narrative.

#### B) Appearance stories (Mt 28.9f., 16-20)

1) The motif of proving the resurrection by means of the appearance of the risen Jesus, which is dominant in Luke 24.13-35, Jn 20.1-18, is but faintly developed in Mt 28.9f. This is only an appendix to the story of the empty tomb. In Mt 28.16-20, however, the motif of the missionary charge is dominant.

2) Concerning two types of the appearance stories in 1 Corinthians 15 (together with Lk 24.33-34) and in the Gospels, it is noted that there is some serious breach of continuity. Paul handed on to his churches what he had received. This tradition somehow did not come to the men who wrote the Gospels, either by Paul or by any other intermediary. Complete certainty is not, however, possible.

#### C) vv.16f.

1) Some tradition that the eleven disciples went to Galilee and that Jesus appeared to them there must have been in existence before Mt, but, that it was the lost conclusion of Mk and that Mt modifies this, is improbable.

2) The theme of the mountain may go back to Matthew.

3) The emphasis is laid not on the appearance itself but rather on the words of Jesus that follow the appearance: sc. the Commission. The mention of doubt



in Matthew serves the purpose of the overcoming of this doubt through what is reported in the following verses, namely, the word of Jesus. The doubt-motif probably implies the problem of the later church, which seeks a new certainty about the risen one in the time after the Easter appearances. Therefore, the mention of doubt belongs to a later time, not to the tradition itself.

D) vv.18-20

1) The item of tradition in vv.18-20 does not in present form belong to the earliest tradition: A tripartite text with the assertion of authority in v.18, the missionary command in vv.19, 20a, and the promise of help in v.20b - these parts must originally have been independent of each other. The whole passage is dominated by the theme of exaltation, which represents a recasting of ancient eschatological expectation.

2) Mark 16.15-18 refers to the missionary command, baptism and the promise of signs, sc. triumph over demons, poison and disease. That is, missionary command is connected with the idea of help - like Mt 28.19, 20a and 20b.

3) However, a characteristic of the Matthean text is to be noted in the concept of Jesus' exaltation, which becomes settled in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity and is expressed here with the help of the enthronement pattern.

4) As to the Old Testament background of the text (v.18b), Ps 2, 72.8ff., 110.1 are particularly to be taken into consideration in connection with the royal messianology, the enthronement theme and the messianic eschatological prophecy.

5) vv.19, 20a are to be understood as editorial intervention, or at least as the influence of later views.

*Μαθηματικὴ* belongs to Matthean thought, which is strictly tied to the law and Jesus' interpretation of it. The teaching of his commandments, as Matthew understands it, is not merely the proclamation of

baptism, but characterises the preaching as a whole. Preaching means the teaching of his commandments of the law and in the preaching of the law the kingly rule of Jesus Christ comes to men.

6) Apart from these later (Matthean) elements in vv.19, 20a, the earlier elements of the tradition are preserved and allow one ~~an~~ <sup>a</sup>posteriori insight into the missionary view of early Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. The command to conduct mission is traced to the exalted Jesus, the exalted Lord, rather than to the earthly Jesus. The commission is directed to all nations. Hellenistic Jewish Christianity took seriously this universal aspect of Jesus' commission. Therefore, one could say that here one has the first fundamental motivation of the Gentile mission, obtained in reliance on and by modification of the oldest expectation of primitive Christianity.

7) v.20b shows the abiding presence of Jesus in the congregation. Here the preaching itself actualizes the presence of the exalted Jesus Christ to the world. The statement belongs to Matthean construction, together with the phrases, 1.22-23, 8.23ff, 18.20.

8) Matthew mediates the presence of the risen Jesus to the congregation by importing the present situation of the Church into the life of the earthly Jesus and his disciples. The equating of the Church with the disciples is connected here with the presence of the risen Jesus in the congregation. The doubt of the congregation is overcome by the saying of Jesus, that makes known to them his exaltation and rule and gives them their commission. In Matthew's mind, it is not seeing the risen Jesus that awakens Easter certainty nor physical converse with a Jesus who seemed to be as he had once been when he was on earth, but the word of proclamation, that is understood as the preaching of the Law.



The following points are particularly worthy of note: V.18b, which conveys the assertion of authority of the exalted Lord, and is, most probably, derived from royal messianology or the enthronement theme in the Old Testament, is set as an important framework of the whole passage, vv.18-20. Other traditions, conveying missionary command and the idea of help, are amalgamated in this framework and are recast to a considerable extent by the evangelist so as to provide a proper conclusion for his own particular version of the Gospel (vv.19-20). How far this construction, sc. v.18b + vv.19-20, is due to the evangelist's redactional work and to what extent the three basic elements had already exercised a mutual attraction in the pre-Matthean stage, is much debated, however, and remains still rather obscure. Nevertheless the main themes of the evangelist in this pericope are clear, that is: on the one hand, the presence of the exalted Lord with his community, which is the ground of the Easter certainty, is the inspiration and support of its mission; on the other hand, by its mission to the nations, which is in each case, in Matthew's mind, the proclamation of the commandments of Jesus, the Church makes real to the world the presence of the exalted Lord. Therefore, in this sense, one may note this mission motif as Matthew's particular redactional contribution to the Easter tradition.

#### D. Luke 24.1-50

##### A) Empty tomb story (Lk 24.1-11)

1) Luke noticeably diminishes the interest in the empty tomb as providing by itself direct or even inferential evidence for the fact of Jesus' resurrection.

2) Luke transforms the account about "Galilee" into a reminiscence of Galilee: the angels refer to a prophecy, made by Jesus while he was still in Galilee, regarding what would occur in Jerusalem, his passion and resurrection there (Lk 24.26)

- Here, one encounters one of Luke's special "themes": Jerusalem must be the centre for the accomplishment of God's plan of salvation and the base for the mission to the Gentiles.

3) In the passage, vv.6(b)-10, the so called "fulfilment of prophecy", or "the proof from prophecy" motif, in its particularly Lucan form, is prominent.

#### B) Lk 24.12

This verse is most probably an interpolation on the basis of John's account. A scribe who thought that the reference to the disciples' having gone to the tomb in Lk 24.24 required a mention of the event, when it occurred, used for this purpose a synopsis constructed from memory of an incident from John. Or it may be that, Jn 20.3-10 and Lk 24.12, are both making excerpts from a common source.

#### C) Emmaus story (Lk 24.13-35)

1) The intention of the story is not to bring bare historical facts to one's knowledge in an objective way, but it has entirely to do with the Easter faith and its theological implications.

#### 2) V.14, v.15a, vv.17-27, v.32, v.35a

These verses belong to Luke's editorial work. The tradition history of the passage, vv.19-27, however, is rather complicated. The idea of Jesus as the eschatological prophet like Moses possibly reaches back to the early Palestinian stratum of the New Testament tradition. Concerning the question, however, how far Luke preserves in the passage the original material, complete certainty is not possible. All one can say is that Luke here preserves very early material, which conveys the idea of the eschatological prophet, and that he reconstructs the story according to his theologumenon concerning the true, scriptural interpretation of Jesus as the suffering Christ, sc. the proof from prophecy theology.



### 3) The appearance to Peter (v.34)

This verse did not originally belong to the Emmaus story, but was inserted later. However, whether it was inserted by Luke or by an earlier hand is not clear.

4) Vv.17-27, v.32 and v.35a, belong to the motif of the proof from prophecy.

(i) This proof from prophecy theology is Luke's central theological idea and the structural and material element that produces the literary and theological unity and climax of the Gospel.

(ii) The stories of the empty tomb, of the Emmaus and the Jerusalem appearances, because of their climactic significance, are effective as a setting for the proof from prophecy theology.

Luke's contribution to the Emmaus legend is typically exemplified in the redactional addition, v.32. Here, he furnishes the Emmaus legend with a climax which conveys the proof from prophecy theology. Thereby, Luke deliberately shifted the dominant theme of the story from an Easter eucharist theology, which was the theme of the original form of the tradition, into the proof from prophecy theology.

### 5) The mediator of the meaning of the Scripture (vv.25-27, v.32, vv.44-48)

After Pentecost, the Holy Spirit takes the place of Jesus as the mediator of Scripture. By making this transposition, Luke may be indicating that Scripture belongs to the Church, for she is in possession of the correct interpretation. At the stage of Lk 24, before ascension and Pentecost, Luke, in view of the construction of Luke-Acts, is not ready to refer to the Holy Spirit.

### 6) "Those who were with" (v.33)

These are two different interpretations of this phrase:

(i) Luke carefully uses the phrase because he already has in mind the idea

which he develops in his account of the "election" of Matthias (Acts 1.15-26).

(ii) The phrase could be a pointer to the author's judgement, based on the information which had come his way, that there were a great many appearances to individuals, to smaller, larger and mixed groups. And, in view of the author's way of working and composing, it is not impossible to conjecture that the phrase in question is one of these small fragments which might just imply such a list of appearances.

D) The appearance to the disciples (Lk 24.36-49)

1) The third appearance (vv.36-43)

This pericope is almost entirely a popular and late tradition. The early Christian, as implied in this tradition, found himself having to confute the judgement that the appearances of Jesus were phantasmagorical.

The account is left essentially unchanged by Luke; however, Luke tacks on it the words of the risen Lord which again contain the proof from prophecy theology (vv.44-49).

2) This pericope is reminiscent of Matthew's missionary charge. However, Luke brings an entirely new line of thought into connection with the words about mission: mission is founded not only on Jesus' command, but also on Old Testament prophecy.

E) The ascension of the risen Jesus (Lk 24.50-53)

1) 24.50-53: This pericope is not an original part of the Gospel. Luke's original account of the ascension seems rather to be in Acts 1.9-11.

(i) The pericope is connected to the region of the temple.

(ii) Sir 50 belongs to the literary background of this pericope.

(iii) The writer of this pericope gives a version of his theology of the ascension making use of the Old Testament (LXX) and its literary forms. The



writer offers here a doxological interpretation of the ascension.

## 2) Acts 1.9-11:

This may be termed the ecclesiastical and historical interpretation, with the accent on the work of the spirit in the Church.

The first interpretation (Lk 24.50-53) is a doxology in the refined style of worship, the second shows Luke's historical interpretation leading into the future, and so also into the history of the church.

## E. The fourth Gospel

The redactional contributions of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition are evident particularly in two points as follows:

1) In view of the passages, e.g. Jn 20.22-23, 7.39b and 20.17b, it is noted that the fourth evangelist interprets the resurrection in terms of the exaltation, sc. the ascension, which is identical with the pouring out of the spirit. In the evangelist's mind, there is no distinction nor any chronological distance between the pouring out of the spirit and the ascension of the risen Jesus. As is noted, the theme of the exaltation is the central theological idea of the evangelist, which is consistently emphasized throughout the Gospel. And in the redactional phrase, Jn 20.17, where he proclaims that the risen Jesus is ascending, the theme is emphatically accentuated. Thus, the passage is the climax and fulfilment of the whole Gospel, for it is here that his interpretation of the resurrection of Jesus is explicated in the most prominent way.

2) Another redactional contribution of the fourth evangelist to the Easter tradition is evident in the parallelism between "seeing" and "believing" in the Thomas story. Here, the evangelist gives important instructions for future generations which will be unable to participate in "seeing" or "touching". He

means that they will have to rely solely on the action of the Holy Spirit, to believe in God's revelation and saving event.

Although the above analysis of the Easter traditions could have been still more detailed, it is unlikely that even then the impression would have been diminished that it is not simply difficult to harmonize these traditions, but impossible. Attempts to combine them by means of conjectures and hypotheses are doomed from the outset to defeat. For what are here to be combined are not a number of scattered pieces from an originally single matrix, but rather a series of separate expressions of the Easter faith. Each of these is complete in itself. Each has developed along its own lines so as to serve in the end for each evangelist as a proper conclusion of his own particular version of the gospel and in each case is closely related to the theology of the particular gospel concerned, for each of the evangelists, and Paul also, are governed by particular conceptions and concerns in writing their works. These conceptions and concerns were determined by the historical context in which they wrote, i.e. the readers for whom they were writing and the theological problems with which they had to deal.

Therefore, it would not be sufficient to say, with G. Bornkamm, that we have to reckon with gaps,<sup>1</sup> unless we go on to say, with C.F. Evans, "that the gaps are not such as could be filled in by additional facts. They are not gaps in a whole, but gaps between wholes."<sup>2</sup>

The evangelists and Paul and indeed the whole community, by which the traditions were preserved, interpret out of their own theological insights and imaginations what has already become fixed tradition, and, one might say, employ for this purpose the medium of preaching, by which method they rescue the event from

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<sup>1</sup> G. Bornkamm, Jesus von Nazareth, Stuttgart, 1959, ET: Jesus of Nazareth, London and New York, 1960, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> C.F. Evans, op. cit., p. 128.



being regarded only as a constellation of prodigies and wonders. In so doing the community demonstrates, that in its eyes, the crucified Jesus is the risen Jesus, from whom it knows itself to receive both grace and to whom it knows itself to be under obligation. It is not, however, only at this point in its history, that the community does this. The same process is being repeated constantly in the course of Church history. Therefore, one must say to put the matter paradoxically, that continuity with the past is preserved by shattering the received terminology, the received imagery, the received theology, i.e. by shattering the tradition. One can easily see this happening in the differing forms of the Palestinian and Hellenistic kerygmas on the resurrection. The variation in the New Testament message of the resurrection, which finds its strongest and most problematic form of expression in the transition from the proclamation of the mere events of the crucifixion and resurrection to the significance of these events is anything but accidental and arbitrary.<sup>3</sup> It plunges us, however, into great difficulties. For it compels us to raise the question of the significance of individual interpretation for Christian preaching, and at the same time to take account of radical historical changes and new developments. There is always a temptation to infer from this variation, the complete discontinuity of Christian history. The truth is, however, that it is only this variation which makes continuity possible at all. For mere history becomes significant history not through tradition as such, but rather through interpretation, not through the simple establishment of facts but through the understanding of the events of the past, as E. Käsemann rightly points out.<sup>4</sup> The variation in the New Testament kerygma of the resurrection

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<sup>3</sup> L. Goppelt, Christologie und Ethik, Göttingen, 1968, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> E. Käsemann, Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, 1, Göttingen, 1960, ET: Essays on New Testament Themes, London, 1964, pp. 20ff.

demonstrates that primitive Christianity held fast to the profession of its faith throughout all changes of time and place, although these changes forced upon it the modification of received tradition. "Mere history, the existence of which can only be prolonged with difficulty by its presence to human consciousness has, as such, no genuine historical significance, even if it is full of curiosities and wonders."<sup>5</sup> "Mere history only takes on genuine historical significance in so far as it can address both a question and an answer to our contemporary situation: in other words, by finding interpreters who hear and utter this question and answer. For this purpose primitive Christianity allows mere history no vehicle of expression other than the Kerygma."<sup>6</sup> The results of the above line of thought are threefold:<sup>7</sup>

- (i) the diversity of the New Testament kerygma of the resurrection.
- (ii) the variability of theological positions in primitive Christianity.
- (iii) the incompatibility of some of these positions.

From these three results, perhaps the conclusion may be drawn that the New Testament does not, as such, constitute the foundation of the unity of the theology of the resurrection. On the contrary, it provides the basis for the multiplicity of interpretations and the varying significance of the Easter event. The diversity of the kerygma of the resurrection in the New Testament is an expression of the fact that in primitive Christianity a wealth of different interpretations were already in existence, constantly replacing each other, combining with each other and undergoing mutual delimitation.

## 7.2 Observation

This conclusion, however, does not close the whole matter. For we have at

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<sup>5</sup> E. Käsemann, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> E. Käsemann, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> cf. E. Käsemann, op. cit., p. 103.



best reached a point where a constructive study might begin. It is true that Christianity as a historical faith which is centred on the New Testament proclamation of the death and resurrection of Christ can hardly give up speaking of the resurrection as a historical event. There is no evading the force of Moltmann's assertion, "Christianity stands or falls with the reality of the raising of Jesus from the dead by God. In the New Testament, there is no faith that does not start a priori with the resurrection of Jesus."<sup>8</sup> Christian theology has no alternative but to think through in the most relentless, searching, and unrestricted way what it means by "historical event".

Because of the failure of the modern historical critical search for a "harmony" of the Easter facts, which should be deemed unprofitable or invalid, the question which largely dominates present day discussion is not focused on the fact of the resurrection. The question of the significance of the event is regarded as the primary problem. And this, it seems to be everywhere, or almost everywhere assumed, can only be that of its meaning in its original context.

There is no dispute amongst theologians that the resurrection of Jesus cannot be seen as an isolated problem. The differences are rather over what the original context is, in which the event, or the assertion, of the resurrection of Jesus Christ has its basic significance. With regard to this problem perhaps it is worth referring to Hans-Georg Geyer's article<sup>9</sup> in which he distinguishes, though they overlap in individual details, three main approaches in present day theological discussion.

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<sup>8</sup> J. Moltmann, Theologie der Hoffnung, München, 1965, ET: Theology of Hope, London, 1967.

<sup>9</sup> Hans-Georg Geyer, "Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi. Ein Ueberblick über die Diskussion in der gegenwärtigen Theologie", in: Die Bedeutung der Auferstehungsbotschaft für den Glauben an Jesus Christus, ed. F. Viering, Gütersloh, 1966, ET: "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ. A Survey of the Debate in Present day Theology," in: The Significance of the Message of the Resurrection for Faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moul, London, 1968, pp. 105ff.

a. The first approach is that represented by R. Bultmann and K. Barth: both regard the context which constitutes the meaning of the resurrection of Jesus Christ as lying in its relationship to the cross.

b. The second approach is that represented by W. Marxsen and G. Ebeling: the decisive and defining context for the event of the resurrection is formed by going back to the words and deeds of the historical Jesus.

c. The third approach is presented by U. Wilckens and W. Pannenberg: the system of reference which is fundamental in constituting the significance of the resurrection of Christ is to be sought in the apocalyptic expectation of the general resurrection of the dead and the judgement at the end of the world.

R. Bultmann starts with the question of how the cross of Jesus Christ can be understood as a saving event or how one comes to believe in the cross as the saving event.

R. Bultmann's reply is: "There is only one answer. This is the way in which the cross is proclaimed. It is always proclaimed together with resurrection."<sup>10</sup> This does not only mean that the expressions "the cross as the saving event" and "the cross together with the resurrection" are synonymous in the strictest sense, but it also has an exclusive meaning, in that the cross as the saving event, or the cross together with the resurrection (or, more briefly, the resurrection itself), exists solely when uttered in the word of preaching. "The word of preaching confronts us as the word of God. It is not for us to question its credentials, it is we who are questioned, we who are asked whether we will believe the word or reject it."<sup>11</sup> The faith which accepts and understands the word of preaching is "real Easter faith": it

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<sup>10</sup> R. Bultmann, "Neues Testament und Mythologie, in: Offenbarung und Heilsgeschehen (Beitr. zur EvangTheol, vol. 7, 1941). Kerygma und Mythos I, ed. H. Bartsch, Hamburg, 1951, p. 46, ET: Kerygma and Myth, 1961, p. 41, see: Hans-Georg Geyer, op. cit., pp. 110f.

<sup>11</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 41.



is the faith that "the word of preaching" is the authentic "word of God".<sup>12</sup> Just as the resurrection of Jesus Christ as the true significance of the cross of Jesus only occurs in the word of preaching, so it is this word which "supplements the cross and makes its saving efficacy intelligible by demanding faith."<sup>13</sup> If the saving efficacy of the cross is made present because it occurs in preaching, so the future of the cross also lies in the supplementing of the cross by the word in preaching. "The"<sup>14</sup> eschatological 'now' is here" in the present event of preaching, which is the future of the cross.

Against R. Bultmann, K. Barth begins by "stating basically that the rising of Jesus Christ is in the New Testament comprehended and understood as an Act of God with the same seriousness as the preceding event of the cross with its implication for us and for all men."<sup>15</sup> It is exclusively the act of God simply because, by contrast with the event of the crucifixion, it contains no "component of human action", which in fact gives to the latter an "historical" character, it is solely and exclusively the act of God basically because of the "divine revelation which has taken place in this event."<sup>16</sup>

Barth specifies that the raising of Jesus Christ is "an autonomous, new act of God", independent of the event of the crucifixion, and so rejects the view that it is only "the noetic converse of it", doing no more than to bring to life the saving significance of the cross in the consciousness and life of the first disciples.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> R. Bultmann, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> K. Barth, Die Kirchliche Dogmatik, IV, Zürich, 1953, ET: Church Dogmatics, IV, pp. 294ff., cf. Hans-Georg Geyer, op. cit., pp. 114ff.

<sup>16</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., pp. 301f.

<sup>17</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., p. 304.

As "an event which has its own content and form", as "an act of God sui generis", that is, "as the true and original and typical act of revelation", the event of the resurrection is distinguished by Barth from that of the crucifixion.

The central point of his exposition is formed by the answer, given as the third point, to the question of the "positive connection between the death of Jesus Christ and his resurrection."<sup>18</sup> Expressed in formal terms that is: "the positive connection between the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ consists in the fact that these two acts of God with and after one another are the two basic events of the history of God with a sinful and corrupt world. His history with us as perverted and lost creatures."<sup>19</sup>

"According to the resurrection the death of Jesus Christ as the negative act of God took place with a positive intention. It has as its aim the turning of man to Himself, his positing afresh, his putting on of a new life, his freeing for the future. And according to the prior death of Jesus Christ the resurrection has this negative presupposition in a radical turning of man from his old existence, in a total removing of man in his earlier form, in his absolute putting off, in his complete freeing from the past. It is in this correspondence that we see their difference but also their relationship - which is, of course, necessarily a differentiated relationship."<sup>20</sup>

Under his fourth point, Barth explains of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, with great emphasis, that "it has happened in the same sense as his crucifixion and his death, in the human sphere and human time, as an actual event within the world with an objective content."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>19</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., p. 310.

<sup>20</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., pp. 309f.

<sup>21</sup> K. Barth, op. cit., p. 333.



The essential difference between Barth and Bultmann in their views of the resurrection consists not in that one is orthodox and affirms the reality of the resurrection of Christ, while the other is unorthodox and denies it, but rather in their historical perspective: Bultmann understands the events of Easter merely as the rise of faith in the saving efficacy of the cross of Jesus Christ, while Barth understands and interprets the resurrection of Jesus Christ as providing a basis for faith and distinct from the act of faith.

According to Geyer's analysis, a second type of interpretation of the New Testament tradition of the resurrection is represented by W. Marxsen, in his study "The resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem."<sup>22</sup> The study consists of three parts which are very carefully thought out methodologically:<sup>23</sup>

- a. A historical analysis of the coming into being of the primitive Christian doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus.
- b. A systematic analysis of the meaning of the New Testament statement concerning the resurrection of Jesus.
- c. A systematic reflection upon the justification for the theological statement of the resurrection of Jesus.

Marxsen starts from the historical derivation of the primitive Christian kerygma of the resurrection from the New Testament narratives of appearances, in which "only the fact of the appearances as such is mentioned".<sup>24</sup> That is, "At the beginning of the tradition there is the mere claim to have seen Jesus who was

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<sup>22</sup> W. Marxsen, "Die Auferstehung Jesu als historisches und als theologisches Problem", in: Die Bedeutung der Auferstehungsbotschaft für den Glauben an Jesus Christus, ed. F. Viering, Gütersloh, 1966, EF: "The Resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem", in: The Significance of the Message of the Resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, pp. 15ff.

<sup>23</sup> Hans-Georg Geyer, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>24</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 26.

crucified"<sup>25</sup> and "We can say quite confidently that it did happen that witnesses saw Jesus who was crucified. We must express it more precisely. Witnesses claim, after the death of Jesus, to have seen him."<sup>26</sup> "On the basis of this vision, which witnesses claim to have happened to them, they then, by a process of reflective interpretation, arrived at the statement: Jesus has been raised by God, he is risen".<sup>27</sup> If this assertion is merely an "interpretative statement made use of by those who reflected on what had happened to them (at that time)",<sup>28</sup> then historical inquiry into the factual nature of Jesus' resurrection must, on principle, end with a non liquet. For "in historical terms, it can only be established that people after Jesus' death claimed that something had happened to them which they described as seeing Jesus, and reflection on this happening led these people to the interpretation that Jesus had been raised from the dead."<sup>29</sup>

In his systematic analysis of the significance of this interpretative statement, Marxsen distinguishes between primary experience and secondary reflection. He says that "We can therefore state that the experience of the appearances come to be spoken of in two ways",<sup>30</sup> or in other words, that "the experience of the vision is found in two explanatory contexts, each of which points in a different direction":<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>27</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>30</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>31</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 36.



a. The reflective interpretative theory: The interpretation leads backwards to the assumption of the easter experience; this is, therefore, retrospective and, with the help of apocalyptic tradition, is articulated in the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus.

b. The anticipatory interpretative theory: The process of interpretation looks also forward to the consequence of the easter experience, and this reaches forward into the future, and can be summarily described as being brought to a realization in the function of the church, i.e. the mission of the church.

Marxsen summarizes these two interpretations in the statement: "Jesus was raised from the dead by God" can only become relevant to others "when the reflection once again brings into being a function",<sup>32</sup> that is, when the retrospective judgment concerning the resurrection of Jesus is interpreted, the interpretation signifies that the "purpose of Jesus" did not come to an end with his death, "but... still holds good today".<sup>33</sup> Here, the primacy, as a hermeneutic principle, of the anticipatory and functional interpretation over the retrospective interpretation is to be noted. The retrospective reflection which interprets the experience in terms of the resurrection, has no independent significance here, but only that of a "guarantee" or "substantiation", by comparison with the prolongation of Jesus' kerygma beyond his death.

In the last part of his articles, Marxsen deals with the problem of the relationship between the ministry of the historical Jesus and the concept of the resurrection of the dead. Marxsen says that "it is not the idea of the resurrection which forms a Leitmotiv into which Jesus should have been or was in fact fitted.

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<sup>32</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 40.

The Leitmotiv was Jesus himself. He had first been crucified, but then had been seen. Now the concept of the raising of Jesus was merely one interpretative theory - and only one among others by the help of which what had happened was reflected upon and brought to utterance".<sup>34</sup> "Jesus was experienced in his earthly ministry as an anticipation of the eschaton, as a divine event".<sup>35</sup> And he goes on to say: "This divine event, bound up with him, which was finished once he was dead, was brought into being once again by the fact that he had been seen."<sup>36</sup>

Thus, according to Marxsen "the question of the resurrection of Jesus is not that of an event which occurred after Good Friday, but that of the earthly Jesus, and the question, inseparably linked with it, of how this purpose later became a reality of experience, which can still be experienced today".<sup>37</sup> That is, the problem of the resurrection is the twofold problem of the earthly Jesus and the Church's preaching in accordance with the eschatological nature of Jesus himself.

The third type of interpretation of the resurrection is represented by W. Pannenberg:<sup>38</sup>

a. The meaning of Resurrection: Pannenberg says that "the resurrection of the dead in the Christian hope for the future and in the Easter faith has to be sharply distinguished from those resurrections from the dead which are reported elsewhere in ancient literature as miracles and also from those which Jesus himself

<sup>34</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>35</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>36</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>38</sup> W. Pannenberg, Grundzüge der Christologie, Gütersloh, 1964, pp. 106f. See also, "Did Jesus really rise from the Dead?" in: New Testament Issues, ed., E.R. Batey, London, 1970, pp. 102ff.



accomplished according to the gospels, e.g. the raising of the widow's son (Lk 7.11-17, Mt 8.5-13) and, the raising of Lazarus (Joh 11.38-44)."<sup>39</sup> Pannenberg understands that in the resurrection of Jesus and in the Christian eschatological hope, life means quite another thing - an imperishable life not limited by any death, which must be in any case completely different from ordinary organic structures.

b. The Apocalyptic Expectation:

Concerning the expectation of Jewish apocalypticism and the meaning of Jesus' resurrection, W. Pannenberg maintains that only because of the expectation of Jewish apocalypticism, did Paul have the possibility of designating the special event that occurred to him and before him to other disciples of Jesus as an event in the mode of existence proper to the life of resurrection. "Paul, therefore, made the expectation of the general resurrection of the dead the presupposition of the acknowledgement of Jesus' Resurrection."<sup>40</sup> "The early Christian missions, therefore, also have to explain to the Gentiles the apocalyptic expectation of a general resurrection of the dead with a final judgement: the mission, indeed, accomplished this task."<sup>41</sup> He goes on to state even more clearly: "The basis on which the understanding of the significance of Jesus rests is always linked to the original apocalyptic framework of Jesus' earthly life... if this framework is removed, then the fundamental basis of faith is lost, Christology becomes mythology, and it has no further continuity with Jesus himself and with the testimony of the apostles."<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>40</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>41</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>42</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 79.

### c. Historicity of the Resurrection:

About the problem of historicity of the resurrection, W. Pannenberg holds that "only the name we give to this event is symbolic, metaphorical, but not the reality of the event itself. The latter is so absolutely unique that we have no other name for this than the metaphorical expression of the apocalyptic expectation. In this sense, the resurrection of Jesus is a historical event, an event that really happened at that time."<sup>43</sup> Moreover, he states that "up to a very recent date it has repeatedly been said that this would violate the laws of nature. But contemporary physicists have become much more careful before making such statements."<sup>44</sup>

In the course of the inquiry into the question of what provides the framework of reference from which the resurrection of Jesus Christ derives its basic significance and can be understood, we have viewed three positions which have been adopted in present day theological discussions, following Geyer's analysis. In the first case, the essential context of the meaning of the resurrection is understood by relating the resurrection to the crucifixion. In the second case, the context of the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is provided by referring back to the words and deeds, the kerygma, of Jesus in his earthly ministry. In the third case the apocalyptic expectation of the divine final age, is held to be the fundamental context of the significance of Jesus' resurrection, its meaning and the possibility of its happening, which must be deduced by referring back to the tradition of that expectation.

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<sup>43</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>44</sup> W. Pannenberg, op. cit., p. 116.



Looking back on all these views of the subject, Hans-Georg Geyer makes a summary comparison between them:<sup>45</sup>

The formal problem is due to the fact that the traditional statement, "Jesus has been raised from the dead", takes the form of a statement concerning reality expressed in the perfect tense. The following are examples of the relationships between the different positions that can be adopted:

A.1. Bultmann, Marxsen and Pannenberg agree on the basic statement that a statement concerning reality in the perfect tense is only possible as a historical judgment, whereas Barth argues that this assertion has the rank of a principle in theology.

2. The difference between Bultmann and Marxsen on the one hand, and Pannenberg on the other, lies in the way they apply their common principle to the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus:

(a) Bultmann and Marxsen argue that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus has the form of a reflection upon something else, because it is impossible as a historical judgment.

(b) Pannenberg argues that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is a statement concerning reality, because it is possible as a historical judgment.

B.1. Barth and Pannenberg agree in advancing the thesis that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is a statement concerning reality.

2. They differ in the way they elaborate this thesis, insofar as:

(a) Barth affirms that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is indeed a statement concerning reality, but is not a historical judgment: while

(b) Pannenberg affirms that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is a statement concerning reality, because and insofar as it is possible as a historical judgment.

C.1. Bultmann and Marxsen agree, differing in this from Barth and Pannenberg, that the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus is a statement which is a reflection upon something else.

2. Bultmann and Marxsen differ, however, in specifying the matter upon which it is a reflection, insofar as:

(a) For Bultmann this consists of the cross of Jesus, while

(b) For Marxsen it consists of the ministry of Jesus (the reflection being brought about by the fact that the disciples of Jesus saw their master after his death).

Thus the formal problem of the theme of the resurrection of Christ can be summarized and set out as a twofold question:

1. Whether the assertion, which has been handed down in the form of a statement concerning reality, that "Jesus has been raised from the dead", is valid as a statement concerning reality, and

2. Whether this validity, if it (the statement) does in fact possess it, can be and must be perceived in the form of a historical judgment.

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<sup>45</sup> Hans-Georg Geyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 132f.

Another thorough survey of recent studies of the resurrection has been done by Bertold Klappert. In his book, Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung,<sup>46</sup> he selects five aspects of the problem:<sup>47</sup>

1. The Historical Aspect of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ - The resurrection as a real event in history.<sup>48</sup>

The resurrection is a real event in history and has a certain historical aspect as the event which occurred in a certain fixed time and sphere of men. The Easter faith is based on the self-revelation and self-declaration of the risen one, not on the discovery of the Empty Tomb. This faith, however, which originated in and is based on the Easter appearances, is not in contradiction with the Empty Tomb. Rather in the fact of the Empty Tomb, the Easter faith finds an evidential confirmation of the reality of the Resurrection of the crucified Jesus of Nazareth who was known in the Easter appearances.

2. The soteriological Aspect of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ - The resurrection as the realisation of proclamation.<sup>49</sup>

The rising of Jesus Christ from death is the realisation of the reconciliation by God (Rom 4.25). The stories of the Resurrection are centrally stories of forgiveness, and the appearances of the risen one are the self-offering of the risen one to a renewed community of his disciples. The Easter appearances are the restoration by the risen Jesus Christ himself of the community, destroyed in a one-sided way by the disciples.

3. The future-eschatological Aspect of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ - The resurrection as the opening of the new future.<sup>50</sup>

The resurrection is not only the realisation of the reconciliation, but is the opening of a new future and the basis of a certain hope, which follows from it and is based on it. This character of the resurrection as promise is not to be isolated, but rather to be based on the character of the resurrection as forgiveness.

<sup>46</sup> B. Klappert, Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung, Wuppertal, 1967.

<sup>47</sup> B. Klappert, op. cit., pp. 10ff.

<sup>48</sup> e.g. v. Campenhausen, op. cit., W. Pannenberg, op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> e.g. K. Barth, Die kirchliche Dogmatik, IV, Zürich, 1953.

<sup>50</sup> e.g. W. Kreck, Die Zukunft des Gekommenen, München, 1966. J. Moltmann, op. cit.



4. The kerygmatic Aspect of the resurrection of Jesus Christ - The resurrection as the foundation of the Kerygma, the proclamation.<sup>51</sup>

The resurrection of Jesus Christ, which provides forgiveness and ensures the future, is at the same time the basis of the mission which proclaims the forgiveness and the future of Christ. Being based on and authorized by the resurrection, the ministry of reconciliation to the world becomes the reconciliation of the world in Christ. (2 Cor 5.19a). The Easter event is nothing without the Easter proclamation. The Easter kerygma is, thereby, neither the expression of the faith decision which was made by the disciples confronted by the Cross, nor merely information about a past event. The Easter proclamation of the primitive church, the witness to the resurrection of the one who is crucified, is rather, based on the self-proclamation of the risen one and his call to faith, proclamation of the act of God, in which the risen one proclaims himself.

5. The anthropological Aspect of the resurrection of Jesus Christ - The resurrection as the basis of faith.<sup>52</sup>

The Easter event as the self-manifestation of the risen one to the disciples is primary for the New Testament and the Easter faith is secondary. Therefore, the appearance of the risen one and the "coming to faith" of the disciples, to whom the appearances occurred, are not identical. The Easter faith is based on the Easter appearances.

Here, as Klappert understands it, each aspect corresponds with a particular question and at the same time is to be considered in connection with the text which implies a particular motif:<sup>53</sup>

(1) The historical question: What can we know? - Lk 24.34 (the reality motif): "The Lord has risen indeed."

(2) The soteriological question: By what are we justified? - Ro 4.25 (the forgiveness motif): "and raised for our justification."

<sup>51</sup> e.g. R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, Tübingen, 1958. Also see: "Das Verhältnis der urchristlichen Christusbotschaft zum historischen Jesus", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Heidelberg, 1962.

<sup>52</sup> e.g. G. Ebeling, "Die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus und das Problem der Christologie", in: Wort und Glaube, Tübingen, 1960.

<sup>53</sup> B. Klappert, op. cit., p. 43.

(3) The question of the future, or the eschatological question: What can we hope for? - 1 Cor 5.13 (the hope motif): "But if there is no resurrection of the dead, then Christ has not been raised."

(4) The kerygmatic or the theological question: To what are we sent? - 1 Cor 15.12 (the mission motif): "if Christ is preached as raised from the dead...."

(5) The anthropological question: How can we understand? - 1 Cor 15.14 (the faith motif): "if Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain."

Besides these two surveys and analyses of recent studies of the theology of the resurrection worked out by Hans-Georg Geyer and B. Klappert, there may be further possibilities of clarification and analysis, from other viewpoints and using various methods. But whatever viewpoint one may take, and however one may clarify such viewpoints, one thing is already sufficiently clear, namely, that historical-critical and other theological experimentations - including dogmatic theology - cannot afford to bypass one another in the search for a more adequate understanding of the question of the resurrection. Otherwise there can be little prospect for advance. Results of the other theological experimentations should be continually reviewed by the achievement of the historical-critical studies of the text, even if it must be admitted by the biblical scholar that the final word has not yet been spoken and that results are more or less still relative. Conversely, the results attained by historical-critical studies must be re-examined in the light of other theological experimentations, so that the contents and message of the texts, which have their own particular meanings in their own historical contexts, may be interpreted in a relevant way in the contemporary world. In terms of the methodology of the whole theological enterprise, one might define this dialogue between



historical-critical investigations and other theological experimentations as hermeneutics, i.e. as a dynamic movement between the historical imagination and the theological, as a living dialectic, between, in its most fundamental form, the facta and dicta.

If one is right to observe that Paul and the evangelists proclaim the resurrection not uniformly, but in diverse forms, so as to serve their own particular Sitz im Leben, and offer versions of the gospel which are complete in themselves and make their own specific theological assertions, within the terms of their own language world and using their own theological imaginations, then, one might say, that one will be neither truly biblical nor responsible to one's own time, if one does not attempt to hear and interpret the various messages in the various idioms of one's own world.

One thing which has become clear through our critical investigations is that in the New Testament the Easter kerygma appears in diverse forms and that there is a variety of theological positions in the primitive Church and among the evangelists, which provided the general frameworks of the Easter texts.

Typical examples of the diversity of the Easter kerygma are found in Matthew 28.1ff. and in 1 Cor 15.3ff. It is clear that in Matthew's Easter narrative the mission motif is emphatically accentuated, whereas in 1 Cor 15.3ff. Paul's concern is sharply focussed on the hope motif. On the other hand, the variety of the theological positions of the Gospel redactors is also supported and confirmed by the critical investigations of e.g. Marcan and Lucan Easter texts.

In Matthew and 1 Corinthians the writers' main concerns are directed towards the communities' situations, sc. the practical and doctrinal, that is, Christological, problems by which the communities were challenged. That is, the motifs which are

observable in these texts are not the inventions or products of the writers' theological speculations, but rather the fruits of their responsive theological reflections on the situations to which they address themselves. In this sense, one may say that the diversity of the Easter kerygma is to a considerable extent due to the diversity of the different contexts in which each community lived.

In contrast with these, the Marcan and Lucan Easter texts, rather than aiming to respond to the communities' problems in direct ways, are orientated towards and conditioned by the redactors' own theological assertions and positions, sc. the miraculous being of Jesus (Mk) and the sacred history (Lk). Both types of Easter texts are equally, however, theological interpretations of the tradition. The interpretations of the tradition by Matthew and Paul are to a larger extent motivated by and a response to the context to which they speak, whereas the interpretations of Mark and Luke are more theoretical, as each author endeavours to work out his own theological position. As a matter of fact, however, these two patterns of interpretation are as little separate or separable as *κήρυγμα* and *διδασχῆ*. The difference is a difference of emphasis.

One of the ultimate aims of the theological examination of the Easter texts is, as has been confirmed already, to clarify the various Easter messages of the New Testament and to interpret and translate them into the idioms which are relevant to the Christian community of the present day and to the world in which the community and its interpreters are set. Therefore, the task to be accomplished by the modern interpreter is neither to hold the conventional dogma on the Easter event, nor to deliver the traditional Apostolic Creed to the following generation in a mechanical way, for that creed is actually no more than a selective synthesis of many different Easter texts in the New Testament, nor merely to compel people to accept all, some



or even any of these different texts, but rather to engage in a task similar to that which was already undertaken by the writers of the New Testament when they interpreted the Easter tradition in different ways.

Before we discuss the problem of interpretation, it is, perhaps, necessary to reflect upon the problem of the understanding of the texts, for unless one has understanding, one cannot execute the task of interpretation.

Knowledge obtained by and through historical investigation of such a phenomenon as a text, or some perception concerning the causality which relates different phenomena does not promise full comprehension of the text to the reader. The understanding of a text becomes possible only when it becomes clear that the mode of thought or action which the author describes is a mode of thought or action which the reader, and indeed, any reader may adopt. For instance, the text, "love your enemies", cannot be understood merely by historical knowledge in the sense of the Aramaic and Greek, of knowledge about the synoptic gospels, about contemporary Judaism and Jesus - this is the negative relation of historical critical study to theological understanding of a text.<sup>54</sup> Rather one can understand the text when one realizes that it contains a possibility for the reader. And this applies also to the texts, e.g. "Christ has risen", "Jesus appeared". In order to understand such texts, one has to take account of and reflect upon the source, the Easter faith and certainty, in which the text itself has its origin and roots. Thus, it seems that historical critical study belongs to theology; yet in the most strict sense stands at the same time outside of theology. This is the aporia of historical

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<sup>54</sup> Concerning the limitation of historical critical study see the methodological chapter. Here, in our discussion, a positive relation of historical critical study to theological understanding is taken for granted, for historical knowledge is always an essential premise of understanding. Historical criticism creates an opening for the interpreter who is striving to hear anew. This positive meaning of historical criticism for Biblical theology in view of "the hermeneutical circle" is also a premise of this discussion. The concern, here, however, is to examine and clarify more closely the logical structure of understanding itself.

critical study, which presents a problem which acutely demands a solution.

It is not the case, however, that the results of historical critical investigations have no relation to theological understanding, for if theological understanding is attempted where historical knowledge or the assessment of a text and its historical context is inaccurate or wrong, such a theology or theological understanding cannot be accepted. In other words, if the arguments of the theological interpreter involve historical judgements or the judgements of related sciences, they are radically to be re-examined.

What must be noted is that the text is not to be understood simply by historical critical investigation, but ultimately by and through one's communication with the source and origin of the text. What takes place is the communication or encounter of the reader with the text. But while it is an encounter with the past, sc. past history, it is also by means of the text communication of the past as present possibility to the reader as he reads it, for, if the text is understood, the message and content of the text becomes a possibility for the reader at that moment. Therefore, in this sense, biblical theology from the outset, presupposes and involves this communication between text and reader by challenging him to hear the text, to examine its content and, by means of content criticism or Sachkritik, to assess it. That is, the hermeneutical circle between historical criticism and biblical theology presupposes the communication between reader and text as a basic premise as an exercise in content criticism.

Besides theological understanding of the text, however, one may also be allowed to have an anthropological understanding in terms of mental phenomenology or mental science, e.g. religious psychology and religious existentialism. Mental science attempts to find the universal meaning of the phenomenon or universal possibility of



human thought through psychological or philosophical understanding of the text, whereas theological understanding inquires after the meaning of the text from the point of view of faith. The relation of historical critical study to mental science is similar to the relation between historical critical study and theological understanding.

The text has various dimensions and aspects: it belongs to the historical dimension which is the object of historical critical study, and it also belongs to the dimension of mental psychology and religious existentialism which are the objects of mental science, and finally it belongs to the dimension of faith which is the object of theology. It must be noted, however, that the communication with the text, which is promised to the reader, is entirely dependent on and conditioned by the reader's viewpoint and his concern. Although historical criticism is autonomous with respect to all other sciences, to the reader who is open to a theological encounter with the text, surely historical criticism promises to offer much historical information, by and through which the encounter is defined, intensified and corrected. One who has been permitted to have an understanding of the text, of whatever kind, naturally intends to transmit to others what he has understood. He tries to convince others of the matter which he understands. This attempt may be called interpretation. Moreover, interpretation demands elucidation. In these two stages, one has to take particular account of the present idioms of the world, for one's main concern is to transmit to and elucidate for others what has been understood and so to enter into communication with them. Therefore, there is a need to seek the idioms by which to communicate with the contemporary world.

As has been shown already, there is a difference between mental scientific understanding and theological understanding. Consequently, the interpretations of

each differ from one another. In this connection, perhaps, one has to reckon with the difference between the Sitz im Leben of the theological interpreter and that of the mental scientist respectively: the Sitz im Leben of the theologian and his community is alien to the mental scientist. R. Bultmann's theology, which is bound up with peculiar modern philosophical presuppositions is to be criticised on this point. Existential philosophy cannot be accepted as a proper theological method of analysing the text or the being of the man who lives by faith, for this philosophy sets out to analyse not exclusively the existence and being of the believer, but the universal existence and being of man. Therefore, in this sense, Bultmann's interpretation of the text is totally anthropological rather than theological.

Then, in what way can one interpret the text, in this case the Easter texts, theologically? How can one have a proper frame of reference for interpreting the text about which one has understanding? And how can one find the idioms which are relevant to the contemporary world?

U. Wilckens, in his article, "The Tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", writes: "What is necessary from an exegetical point of view is a more profound realization of the fact that the difficult task, for example, of mediating to the present day the tradition of contemporary Judaism, which is so closely interwoven with primitive Christian tradition, is not in itself hopeless.... One must take seriously the fact that it is impossible to have either the primitive Christian gospel, or even the God of primitive Christianity, apart from the history in which they were at work. To isolate the 'true' content of our Christian faith from its 'past' historical form also means to abandon Jesus as the central object



of our faith."<sup>55</sup> As is implied by this statement, Wilckens tends to be too positive in his attempt to link directly the fruits of historical analysis with interpretation for the present. That he is himself aware of this is apparent when he says: "But I am of the belief that we are right in our modern tactics of not attempting to solve problems of systematic theology at the same time as we carry out historical study, let alone allowing exegetical work to turn straight away into a sermon."<sup>56</sup>

W. Marxsen's article, "The Resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem",<sup>57</sup> has thrown some light upon the problem of how the primitive Christian doctrine of the resurrection came into being and also upon the problem of the inner structure of the Easter kerygma. The concern of this article, however, is not merely restricted to analysis of the Easter kerygma. Rather the author's aim and intention is, through the investigation of the Easter kerygma, to examine the problem or to seek a clue to the solution of the problem of how we come to believe the resurrection of Jesus. This is obvious when he says at the end of his article: "It is by no means the case that the appearance which those men saw, still less their interpretation of this appearance as the resurrection of Jesus, guarantees the truth of the message. The problem of truth never presents itself to us unrelated to the message directed to us, and this message, if it is delivered in suitable terms, affirms and promises to us in the present day the words and deeds of the earthly

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<sup>55</sup> U. Wilckens, "Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Auferstehung Jesu", in: Die Bedeutung der Auferstehungsbotschaft für den Glauben an Jesus Christus, ed., F. Vierung, Gütersloh, 1966, ET: "The Tradition-history of the Resurrection of Jesus", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968, p. 76.

<sup>56</sup> U. Wilckens, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>57</sup> W. Marxsen, "Die Auferstehung Jesu als historisches und als theologisches Problem", in: Die Bedeutung der Auferstehungsbotschaft für den Glauben an Jesus Christus, ed., F. Vierung, Gütersloh, 1966, ET: "The resurrection of Jesus as a historical and theological problem", in: The significance of the message of the resurrection for faith in Jesus Christ, ed., C.F.D. Moule, London, 1968.

Jesus. But if I then today in a sermon am touched by his kerygma it thus meets me as coming from 'flesh and blood' in human words. But if the Father in heaven opens my heart, then a reality discloses itself to me which is more complex than what the word of man imparts. Then the eschaton is anticipated for me. Here then I encounter Jesus' offer. But when it really touches me, then I know that he is alive. And if I wish to express this in the earlier terminology (and am aware of the limitations within which affirmation in that terminology can be made) then I can confess today that he is alive, that he was not held in death. He is risen."<sup>58</sup>

The real problem, which is our immediate concern and to which Marxsen does not refer, seems to lie beyond this stage, that is, the problem of how to interpret the Easter texts.

Some light may, perhaps, be thrown on this problem by reckoning with the two types of interpretation of the tradition which we observed in the Easter texts, for at least, here, in the New Testament itself, one has the most basic models of how theological interpretations of the Easter tradition becomes possible.

The following single points may now be noted:

- 1) To interpret the Easter texts and to translate them into contemporary idioms, one has to be open minded to, ready to appreciate, and at the same time to be critical of the concrete situation of both the community and the theologian. Also, one must discipline oneself in and commit oneself to the community life in a responsive way, that is, in a constructive and critical way, and then one may, somehow, be led to see the present situation from a fresh angle, and achieve sufficient theological insight for interpreting, translating and, eventually, proclaiming the message of the Easter texts for the present.

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<sup>58</sup> W. Marxsen, op. cit., p. 50.



2) One is always allowed to hold and even expected to develop one's own original fresh theological position and assertion, from which to interpret and elucidate the Easter texts. In this case, one might say that the frame of reference of the interpretation is supplied by one's own theological position, and thus the message of the texts is totally recast and orientated towards one's own theological position. An appropriate modus operandi here would be to make deductions from one's theological postulates rather than to proceed to them by making inductions on the basis of experience.

It is true that in both the cases noted above one has no ultimate criteria to judge definitively any theological insights, but what is not to be overlooked is that these insights can always be checked by the penultimate criteria of the living community and also of the anthropological sciences including historical critical study, in so far as theological elucidation involves scientific and historical critical judgments and arguments. But God in Christ remains the ultimate arbiter.

Finally, in view of all the discussion so far, and also in the light of this critical investigation of the Easter texts in the New Testament, two lines of approach especially may be suggested as the most promising aspects of the Easter texts for contemporary reflection, the themes of hope and mission. This is so, not simply because these two aspects are referred to by the Easter texts themselves, but because it may be maintained that both the community and the world are currently confronted, in their inward and outward battles, by the challenges represented by these words.

It is not an easy task to respond to these problems in a fresh and relevant way, but in so far as one radically and honestly investigates and communicates with the Easter witnesses in the New Testament, one will be repeatedly led to a deeper

understanding of the texts which will illuminate the historical and theological meanings of the witnesses, and such an understanding of the texts can promise inexhaustible energy to continue at the task of interpreting and translating what one understands by and through the texts into fresh idioms for a new generation.



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